



Re. Vaughan sculp.



Ducatus Haditus Principis Veneti,
Græci sūm Imperii
Protaspatis. etc

Ro. Vaughan sculpit



R. Vaughan sculp.



S. P. Q. V.
A SURVAY
OF THE
SIGNORIE
OF
VENICE,

Of Her admired policy, and method of
GOVERNMENT, &c.

WITH
A Cohortation to all Christian Princes to resent
Her dangerous Condition at present.

By JAMES HOVVELL Esq.



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M. DC. LI.

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W A V E S

THE

WAVE

THE



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TO THE
SUPREME AUTHORITY
OF THE NATION,
THE PARLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

Most Noble Senators,



Length of Age argues strength of Constitution; and as in Naturall bodies, so this Rule holds good likewise in Politicall: Whence it may be inferrd, that the Signorie of Venice from Her Infancy was of a strong Symmetry, well nursd, and swaddled with wholsom Lawes, which are no other than the ligaments of a State, or the Arteries whereby the bloud is directed and strengthened to run through all the veines in due proportion, though Nature allowes som to have a greter quantity than others. To this may be attributed Her so long duration, for having bin born a Christian, and Free from the beginning, She hath continued a pure Virgin, and an Independent (but only upon Her-self) neer upon 13 Ages; She hath shind in Her VVatry Orb among all other Republicques upon Earth, as the Moon doth in the Heavens among the rest of the Planets, Though She hath cop'd with the gretest Potentats of the World, and particularly with the huge Ottoman Emperour Her Neighbour; having not only scratchd his face, and oftentimes cut off those tuffs of hair wherin his strength lay for the time, but peeld his beard, and somtimes pluckd him by the Mustachos; She is now in actuall luctation, and hath bin any time these six yeers at bandy-gripes with that monstrous Giant, who this yeer
B intends

intends to bend, and bandy all his Forces both by Land and Sea, to ravish and ruin Her; Therefore it imports all Christian Princes to resent Her condition, She being both the Key, and Bulwark of Europe that way; And, with humble leave I speak it, it may well becom England (now that she is more formidable at Sea than ever) to be sensible of Her case, That Republic having bin her antient Confederat ever since the association of the Holy Warr, and having, for this last Centurie, mingled interests, and run the same cours of state with Her; Nor is it a Quære altogether impertinent, but may very well admit of a debate, whether a warr against the Turk might not prove more advantagious to England than his wares. Moreover, if likenes may beget love, England hath reson to affect Venice more than any other, for in point of security ther is much resemblance between them, being both seated in the Sea, who is their best Protector; The one preserves Her-self by her Gallies, the other by her Galeons; The fairest flower of England is the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, the gretest glory of Venice is the Dominion of the Adriatic Gulph 700 miles in extent; Venice had the chieftest hand in framing the Rhodian Lawes for Sea cases, by which all the Levant parts are guided; and England was the busiest in constituting the Maritime Lawes of Oleron, whereby the Western World is governd.

This following Survey (which is like a Frame indented with sundry peeces) will, I beleeve, make the Reader both outwardly and inwardly acquainted with this Mayden Republic, for it shewes Her policy and power, Her warrs, exploits, and confederacies, Her interests of State, together with Her advantages and defects, and how farr She hath trodd in the stepps of old Rome; Therefore, most humbly under favor, the Author deemd it a peece of industry not altogether unworthy to be presented unto that Noble Assembly by

Their daylie Orator,

HOWELL.



The famous Hexastich which *Sannazarius* made
upon the City of *Venice*, for which he re-
ceavd 100 Zecchins for evry verse (amounting neer to
300^l sterling) in lieu of reward by decree of the
Senat.

Viderat *Adriacis Venetam Neptunus in Undis*
Stare Urbem, & toti ponere jura Mari,
Nunc mihi Tarpeias quantumvis, Jupiter, Arces
Obijce & illa tui mania Martis, ait;
Sic Pelago Tibrim praefers; Urbem aspice utramque,
Illam Homines dices, Hanc possuisse Deos.

When *Neptun*'mong his billowes *Venice* saw,
And to the *Adrian* Surges giving law,
He sayed, now *Fove* boast of thy *Capitoll*,
And *Mars* his Walls; This were for to extoll
Tiber above the *Main*: Both Citties Face,
You'l say, *Rome men*, *Venice* the *Gods* did trace.

A short Analysis of the whole Peece.

A VENICE LOOKING-GLASSE,

Wherein that rare and renowned City and Signory
is represented in Her tru Colours, with Reflexes,

- I. **U**Pon Her Constitutions, and Government, wherein ther may be
divers things usefull for this Meridian.
- II. Of the extent and distance of Her Dominions.
- III. Of Her Interests of State, with the rest of the Princes of Italie, and
others.
- IV. Of Her imitation of old Rome in most things.
- V. Of Her advantages and defects.
- VI. Of Her power by Sea and Land.
- VII. Of Her 98 Dukes, Doges, or Souverain Princes.

In whose Lives is involvd the *Historicall* part which looks upon the
Greek Empire, and Turkey as well as upon most Countreys in *Europe*;
in whose Councells, tending either to Peace or Warr, the Republic of
Venice hath had as great a share as any other Christian Prince.

THe Author desires to prepossesse the Reader with this advertisement,
That he would not have adventurd upon this remote Outlandish sub-
ject, had he not bin *himself* upon the place; had he not had practicall
conversation with the people of whom he writes: As little had he
presumd upon the Life of the last French King (and *Richelieu* his Car-
dinall) in the Story calld *LUSTRA LUDOVICI*, unlesse he had
bin Spectator of most of his actions.

And herin the *Author* desires to be distinguishd from those who
venture to write of Forren affaires, and Countreys by an *implicit*
faith only, taking all things upon trust, having Themselves never
trodd any part of the *Continent*.

Upon the Citty and Signorie of V E N I C E.

Could any State on Earth Immortall be,
Venice by Her rare Goverment is She;
Venice Great Neptunes Minion, still a Mayd,
Though by the warrlikst Potentats assayd;
Yet She retaines Her Virgin-waters pure,
Nor any Forren mixtures can endure;
Though, Syren-like on Shore and Sea, Her Face
Enchants all those whom once She doth embrace;
Nor is ther any can Her bewty prize
But he who hath beheld Her with his Eyes:

*These following Leaves display, if well observd,
How She so long Her Maydenhead preservd,
How for sound prudence She still bore the Bell;
Whence may be drawn this high-fetchd parallel,*

Venus and Venice are Great Queens in their degree,
Venus is Queen of Love, Venice of Policie.

J. H.



OF THE
 REPUBLIC
 OR
 SIGNORIE
 OF
 VENICE.

The PROEME.



Ere it within the reach of humane brain to prescribe Rules for fixing a Society and *Succession* of people under the same Species of Government as long as the World lasts, the Republic of *Venice* were the fittest pattern on Earth both for direction and imitation: This *Maiden* City, which denominats the whole Commonwealth, had the Prerogative to be born a *Christian*, and *Independent*, wherof Shee glorieth, and that not undeservedly, above all other States or Kingdomes; It seems some propitious Star was predominant at Her Nativity, and that Nature brought Her forth with her limms well knit, and apt to grow up to a strong constitution, which is the cause that She is so long liv'd, and hath continued above a thousand hot Sommers an intemerat *Virgin* under the same face, and form of Government; It is the cause that She looks still fresh and flourishing, without the least furrow of age in her forehead, or any visible symptom of decay, wherunto *Civill* Bodies as well as *Naturall*, by those distempers and common accidents which attend *Time*, use to be subject. This beau-

teous *Maid* hath bin often attempted to be deflowrd, som have courted Her, som would have bribd Her, and divers wold have forced Her, yet she still preserv'd her chastity entire; *She* hath wrestled with the greatest powers upon Earth, East, West, North and South, both by Land and Sea; The Emperour, the Kings of *France, Spain, and Hungary*, with most of the other Princes of Christendom in that famous League at *Cambray*, at which time she had a shrewd fit of the green sicknes which threatned a consumption, would have quite *sunk* Her, but She bore up still above water, and broke that League to flitters, though, I must confesse, she was forced 'then to peece her *Lion's* skin with a *Foxe's* tayl, and to destroy that by *wit* which she could not doe with her *weapon*.

The Eastern Emperours have divers times set upon her skirts, The Gran Turk hath bin often at Her, (and She is now tugging hard with him) but he could never have his will of Her, for though She hath often clos'd with him, yet She came still off with her mayden-head cleer; She hath had sundry Thunder-bolts darted at Her from the *Vatican*, yet She kept her self still free from all inward combustions, and all popular tumults both in her *Church & State*, notwithstanding that She expeld from her Territories, the greatest supporters of the Popes Chair, when She gave the *Jesuits* this cold farewell, *Andate, niente pigliate, & mai retornate, Goe your wayes, take nothing, and never return*; As also that She long since made her Ecclesiastics incapable to inherit *Stable* possessions, or sit in the Senat, in regard they have a dependance and juramentall obligation, in divers things, to another *Prince*, viz. the Pope; therefore before any suffrage passe in the Councell, the common cry is, *fuora I preti, Out Presbyters*; This curbing of the Clergy hath caus'd divers clashes twixt her and *Rome*; so that once the Pope began to question Her right to the Dominion of the *Gulph*, and asking her Ambassador what warrant She had for it, He answered, *If your Holines please to produce the Instrument wherby the Emperour Constantine passed over the City of Rome to your predecessors, upon the back of that Grant your Holines will find the Venetian Charter to the Dominion of the Adriatic Gulph*; Another time *Gregory* the 13. threatning to excommunicat the *Doge* and the Senat about a controversie that had arisen touching the bounds of their Territories, *Nicholas Pontanus* answered, *Censuram Pontificiam esse gladium vagina inclusum, qui temerè distringi non deberet, ne discerent homines contemnere ejusmodi Telum, &c.* The Pontificall censure, viz. *Excommunication*, is like a sword sheath'd up in a scabbard, which ought not to be rashly drawn out, lest men might learn to slight that kind of weapon.

Yet these traverses twixt Saint *Peter* and Saint *Mark* could never shake *Venice* in the main of the Roman Religion wherin She was born, baptized and bred, but She still reverenc'd the Church in her own *Sphere* and function; and suffers her to enjoy above 2. millions of yearly revenue to this day. And indeed 'twas one of her primitive principles of policy, at the first erection of her Republique, to bear a singular veneration to the Church, imitating herein, as in many other particulars, the Common-wealth of *Rome* her Mother, who rais'd her self a notable repute among other Nations, for her extraordinary reverence to the *Gods*. Nor are ther many
Christian

Christian Princes who deserve better of *Rome* than *Venice*, for She hath often supported the Popes *Chair* when it was tottering, nay, being once quite thrust out She riggd her gallies and resettled *Him* in it as will appear: And of later yeers She resented it extremely when *Bourbon* scald the walls of *Rome*; Besides, She wold not admit *Henry* the fourth's Ambassador from *France* to Her Chappell till his Master was reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*.

Nor did She keep *Saint Peters* bark only from sinking, but She spread her sayles, and displayed her banners allso for preserving the Eastern Emperour (when *Christian*) from the furie of the Saracens and other barbarous peeple. S H E had so great a share in the conquest of the *Holy Land*, that She had one part of *Jerusalem* allotted her for her quarter; and had not the state of *Genoa* (a potent Republic in those times) bin so perverse, and repin'd at the glory of *Venice* her elder sister, *Venice* had bin the Glory of *Europe*, and the Christians might in all probability have kept footing in *Palestine* to this very day, for the clashings betwixt these two were the cause that the conquests which the *Crosse* had gott in those Eastern parts were of so small continuance.

We read how *Rome* became a *prostitut* to severall Nations, and sorts of governments, and one only warr made as it were an end of her quire, but *Venice*, *Vertu-like*

-----repulsa nescia sordida

Intaminatis fulget honoribus:

I say *Venice* to this day, though all her neighbours round about, farr and nere, have tuggd with her by Land and Sea, yet like the constellation of *Virgo* among the celestiall bodies, she shines still among the Kingdoms on earth like a bright unravish'd Virgin: And may do so to the Worlds end, if she be still true to her self, as *Thuanus* sayeth, who undertakes to be her prophet in these words,

Venetia non nisi cum Rerum naturâ,

Et Mundi machinâ peritura.

Till Nature and the Univers decline,

Venice within her Watry Orb shall shine.

Som Reasons why Venice hath lasted so long in the same condition of Liberty.

NOW, how this longliv'd Republic came to do those notable achievements abroad, and conserve her self from all popular tumults and revolutions at home so many Ages, may be imputed, (besides the politic frame of her government in generall, which shall be treated of hereafter) to these particular reasons following.

1. S H E hath bin allwayes constant to her self, and to her first fundamentalls & principles, for She hath bin allwayes an enemy to change, holding it to be a wholsom caveat that *Ipsa mutatio consuetudinis magis perturbat novitate quam adjuvat utilitate, viz.* The change of custom useth to perturb a State more by it's *noveltie*, than advantage it by it's *utilitie*;

She hath a rule also that *male possum sapius mutatur in pejus*, This makes her decrees irrevocable; As one of her Ambassadors answer'd *Henry* the fourth of *France* when he interceded for the abrogation of a Decree of *Hers*, *Serenissime Rex, Senatus Venetus diu deliberat, antequam decernat, sed quod serio decrevit revocat nunquam*; Most gracious King, the *Venetian* Senat doth deliberate a long time before it decrees anything, but when it is once seriously decreed 'tis never revoked. Whereunto he added further, *gli Decreti di Venetia non sono come ligridi di Parigi*, The Decrees of *Venice* are not like the cries of *Paris* (meaning the French *edicts*) proclam'd to day, and repeal'd to morrow. To this maturity of deliberation, may be added, the gravity of her Senators, and the exact reverence the younger fort bear, not only to the persons, but opinions of their Elders; It is not there as in other places, where young men make lawes for old men to observe, they abhorre that inversion of the Law of Nature, but *gray heads sway, and green heads obey*; so provident they are of the future, when they consult of a busines to day, they think what may befall 100. years after. Nor is ther any admitted to their superior Councells till he be somewhat stricken in yeers, untill he hath pass'd employments of public trust within her own Territories, or Embassies abroad. Touching this second service they have certain degrees which they observe in the removal of their Ambassadors, for commonly one passeth from the Cantons of *Switzerland* to be Ambassador in *Holland*, thence he is transmitted to *England*, thence to *France*, so to *Spain*, and thence either to the Emperour or to be *Bailie* of *Constantinople*, where he lives in great height, and is not accountable for his expences as all other Ambassadors are, nor ever after employed in any Legation.

But though She be so constant to her self at home in Her primitive constitutions, and intrinsique government, yet in her correspondency, leagues and confederacies abroad She often varies, and casts her cours of policy into new moulds, as the Fortune of other Princes or States do rise or decline; her principall aym being to keep not only the State of *Italy*, but also *Spain* and *France*, which are the two poles whereon *Europe* may be sayed to move, in *Equilibrio*, To keep them in a counterpoize.

2. Another cause of the longavity of this Republic may be alleged to be, that She hath allwayes bin more inclin'd to peace than war, and chosen rather to be a Spectatrix or Umpresse, than a Gamestresse, Her chief motto being, *Pax tibi Marce*; Infomuch that no Christian Prince or State, except the Popedom, hath labourd more by costly Legations to reconcile the quarrells of *Europe*, and quench the fyre that issued out of them to the disturbance of the public peace, as also for preventing the advantages which the Common Enemy the *Turk* (one of her next neighbours) might take thereby: which hath bin the cause that for the sagacity of her men, and maturenes of her Counsells, She hath bin oftentimes desir'd to be Mediatrix of differences 'twixt the greatest Potentates, which She hath don with that addresse and diligence as is admirable, so that *Thuanus* gives her this character, to be *Civilis prudentia officina*, the shop of civil prudence.

3. A third reason for the continuance of this Republic in such a prosperous

prosperous condition may be sayed to be the rare temper of her peeple, who with exact obedience and promptitud execut what is enjoynd them by their Superiours; so that it may be sayed of *Venice* what a grave Historian speaks of *Sparta*, when he pass'd his judgment of Her, *Sparta diu stetit, non quod Rex bene imperabat, sed quia populus bene parebat, Sparta lasted so long, not as much that the Prince did command well, as that the peeple did obey well.* Nor, is the *Venetian* of so volatill an humor, and so greedy of change as other Italians, he is not so fickle as the *Florentine*, *Milaneze*, or they of *Naples*, who, as the History relates, hath had eight and twenty revolutions (with this last) in lesse then 300. yeers, in which time the *Napolitan* Courser threw off his Rider five times.

4. Add herunto that the *Venetians* are mighty good Patriotts, and love their Country in an intense degree, every Gallie that goes in cours thinks she hath *Venice* her self aboard of her; as if the print of that old Roman rule were stil fresh in their hearts, *Dulce & decorum pro patria mori*: And as in this particular, so in many qualities besides, the soul of *Rome* seems to have transmigrated into *Venice*, as shall be shewn hereafter. They are equally studious and eager to conserve the glory and greatnes of the *Republic*, for which they have bin ever ready to part with their bloud and fortunes; There are many examples how the women have bin ready to part with their braceletts, earings and necklaces in time of extremity, nay they have offered their very hair to make ropes for their gallies, &c. But though they continue still such great Zelotts to their own Country, and government thereof, they are not so to the Church of late yeers, as it is observ'd; and were it not for those confusions that ensued therby in other Countreys, and the hatred they shold heap upon themselves from their neighbours, som think the *Republic* by this time would have drawn her neck from the Roman yolk, which made Cardinall *Ossat* say, that *Venice* hath now no more devotion to *Rome* than needs.

5. A fift reason that *Venice* hath continued a *mayd* so many Centuries of yeers, is, her advantageous site and position, being seated in an arm or Estuary of the *Adriatic* Sea upon an Assembly of small Ilands to the number of above threescore confociated and leagud together by 800. and odd bridges; so that sitting thus securely on *Thetis* lapp, She need not fear any invasion by land, or any approaches to her from sea without knowing Pilotts: She hath as it were cutt the Ocean into so many aqueducts through her streets, as we read *Cyrus* causd the River *Pindus* to be draind into 360. channels, which he did out of a revenge because she had drown'd one of his horses, but *Venice* clean contrary doth this out of affection to *Neptun*, that therby She might embosom her self the more easily between his armes. This rare situation of the City of *Venice* induc'd divers to be of opinion That som superior power to man, That som heavenly Intelligence had a hand in founding and tracing Her out.

6. Sixtly, This rare perpetuity of the Republic of *Venice* may be ascrib'd allso to her *Tresure*, and *Arsenal*, wherof the one is grown to be a proverb for riches, the other for strength, being stord with such huge Magazins of both: The first could never be yet exhausted or estimated; The other can, in case of necessity, put so many Gallies to the sea as ther

be daies in the year, having 3000. persons perpetually at work, with other advantages, as will appeer when we com to describe it, with the *Tresury*, for these are but *prolegomena*, and generall *Ideas* of things.

7. Seventhly, The counterpoise of rewards and punishments may be sayed to have bin the plummetts which have made the great clock of this *Commonwealth* to go tru so many ages: In this government whosoever is detected to have the least attempt or thought of conspiring any thing against the *Republic*, dies without mercy; On the other side, whosoever finds out or invents any thing that may tend either to her advantage or honor, shall be as sure of his reward, as the other of punishment.

8. Another reason why *Venice* hath lasted so long at such a constant stand, is her wonderfull *sagacity* in discovering any privat conspiracy against Her self, her cautions to prevent it, and ready means to suppress it; for there is allwayes a privat Armory (besides the great Arsenall) wherein ther are choice armes ready for 1500. men, the musketts, and arquebuzes charg'd, match ready, and every thing fitted for a present execution in case of a sudden surprize or uprore. This Armory is very secretly kept nere the Dukes Palace, and not to be shown without 3. Gentlemen of the great Councell, being reserv'd meerly for the use and safety of the Senat, in case they shold be assaulted by any ill-favour'd commotion, or privat outrage while they are consulting about the affaires of the *Republic*: It is closely and curiously kept, and hath many new divises of armes, as steel-bowes which shoot needles or small darts, and hitt unseen, ther be musketts and pistolls that will go off 6. times together, halbarbs with pistolls in them one at each end, strange kinds of polaxes, with other sorts of defensive and destructive armes, if occasion should require. Besides this means of suppressing all violence, she hath many cautions besides to prevent them: It is death without mercy for any of her Senators, Officers or Gentlemen to receave pensions from any other Prince or State; nor is it permitted that they have any privat conversation with their Ambassadors or public Agents; Her own Ambassadors must not conceal the presents and gifts they receav'd from other Princes where they are employ'd, but at their return they must present them to Saint Mark's *Tresury*, which hath much multiplied the wealth of it.

9. Another reason of her so constant subsistence may be the sundry restraints She putts to the power of the Prince, which are such, that 'tis impossible for Him to be a Tyrant, or able to attempt any thing against her liberty and government; He may be sayed to be but a Collegue to the rest of the Senators, differing from them only in the hinmost part of his Capp, which riseth up like a Cornet. Besides, though *Maydens* commonly love young Men, yet she never chooseth any to be her Prince or Duke till he be stricken in yeers, and season'd with the experience of the world, untill he be half mortified, having shaken hands with those extravagant humors, appetits and passions that attend humane Nature.

Hereunto may be added the limitations She putts to the wealth of the Nobles, that none of them grow over rich, but to such a proportion, in regard that it is a quality ever inherent and hereditary in the nature of man, that excessse of riches puffs up the mind, and incites it to ambitious
and

and high attempts, nor is there a more catching bayt for one to take vulgar affections, and draw them after him, than Wealth: therefore one of her prime principles of State is to keep any man, though having deserv'd never so well by good successe or service, from being too popular; Therefore when forren Ambassadors are employed to Her, they have it among their privat instructions not to magnifie any of her subjects in particular, for She cannot endure to hear of it, though She can be allways very well contented to hear Her self extoll'd, and tickled with complements in the generall.

10. Add herunto, that one of her policies is to exempt her Cittizens from going to the warrs, but She hires others in their places, by whose death she sustaineth the lesse losse, for She hath bin allwayes observ'd to be parsimonious of her own bloud: Moreover, She entertaines som forren Prince for Her Generall, whom, the warrs being ended, and the game played, She presently *discards*; by which cours She avoyds not only superfluous expence, but likewise all matters of faction, and apprehensions of danger, which might well happen if She shold employ any of her own people in so high an employment, which might elevat his spiritts to too great an altitud. She hath also another politic law that permits not the younger sonnes of the Nobility and Gentry to marry, lest the number encreasing so exceedingly it should diminish the dignity, and her great Councell shold be too much pester'd, and this may be one reason why she connives at so many Courtisans for the use of the *Cadett*-gentlemen.

11. Eleventhly, the rare secrecie She injoyes in her chiefeft Councells, may be a reason that no forren Prince could come nere her privy parts all this while; for it is there an irremissible crime, and such a mortall sin that drawes upon it death without mercy, to reveale the privat transactions, and secretts of her Councell of State; In so much that the designes of this *close Mayd* may be sayed to be *mysteries* till they be put in execution.

12. Lastly, the cause of her continuance may be imputed to another reach of policy She hath, not to admitt *Churchmen* to any of her secular Councells (nor was She ever subject to the authority of *Women*) And the reason why the Clergy is made incapable to sit in the Senat is, because (as it was touch'd before) they have relation to another government, *viz*, the *Pontificiall*. Moreover, She hath had a speciall care of the Pulpit (and Presse) that no Churchman from the meanest *Priest* to the *Patriarch* dare tamper in their Sermons with temporall and State-affairs, or the transactions and designes of the Senat; It being too well known that Churchmen are the most perilous and pernicious Instruments in a State, if they misapply their talent, and employ it to poyson the hearts of the people, to intoxicat their brains, and suscitat them to sedition, and a mislike of the government; and now Churchmen have more power to do this in regard they have the sway on the noblest part of the rationall Creature, over the soul and the intellectualls; Therefore if any intermeddle with matters of State in the Pulpitt, they are punish'd in an extraordinary severe manner. Yet they bear a very high respect unto the
Church,

Church (as long as she keeps within her own sphere, and breaks not out into ceccentricall and irregular motions.) They suffer Her to this day to enjoy above 2. millions of crowns in yeerly revenue, holding it for a maxime, that reverence, riches, decency and splendor are the greatest pillars that support Religion. She hath also two very eminent men, the one a sound Divine, the other a learned Casuist, that have a pension from the Republic, who are allwayes ready in case She have any contestation with *Rome*, to defend and vindicat Her by public writing, and to satisfy the world of her proceeding, as *Paolo Servita* did.

Thus have you in part som reasons (which will be enforced in the following description of her Government) how *Venice* came to last so many centuries a pure unspotted *Virgin*, and free not only from all forren ravishments and assaults, but also from all intestin commotions and tumults. 'Tis true that som short combustions have happen'd in Her, but by Her wisdom and providence they prov'd but as syres of flax or stubble, which no sooner flash'd out but they suddenly extinguish'd of themselves. And this is the more to be wondred at, because it is observ'd, that as rank excuberant grounds use to be more subject to bear weeds of all sorts, than other soyles, so rich luxurious Citties are more expos'd to corrupt superfluous humors, which use to break out into strange distempers, and high feavers. 'Tis well known that *Venice* hath bin allwayes such a Cittie, yet by Her extraordinary prudence She hath and doth still preserve her self from such distempers, notwithstanding that She swims in wealth and wantones as well as she doth in the waters, notwithstanding that She melts in softnes and sensualitie as much as any other whatsoever; for, 'tis too well known, ther is no place where ther is lesse Religion from the girdle downward: yet She suffers not those frayl vessels of plesure to mingle with her other Daughters in Church-Communion.

But now we will proceed to the Originall of her Republic, and the frame of her Government, wherby She hath endur'd so many hundreds of hard winters, and hott sommers.

Of the Originall of the Signorie of Venice, and of her Government.

I*Talie* hath bin allwayes accounted the Eye of *Europe*, the Mirrour of policy, and once, Mistresse of the World; Although, putting all dimensions together, and taking her *length* to peece out her *latitude*, She be scarce as big as *England*, yet hath She a Kingdom 450. miles long, and 112. in breadth, (for *Naples* and *Calabria* are so) which contains 2700. Townes, 20. Archbishopricks, sixcore and seven Bishops, 13. Princes, 24. Dukes, 25. Marquises, and 800. Barons: She hath a *Popedom* which extends its Territories 300. miles long, and is situated 'twixt two Seas, *viz.* the Adriatic, and Tyrrhene Seas, and so runs through the midst of Her, which makes the Pope to be more proper & capable to be an Umpire or Enemy upon any occasion of difference that side the Alps; For besides his navall strength he can put into the field an Army of 50000. well

well arm'd men in case of necessity, being a mixt Prince 'twixt spirituall and temporall.

She hath also divers other Principalities; The Dutchie of *Milan* is little inferior to the Popedom in point of strength; The gran Duke of *Toscany* hath 20000. arm'd men inroll'd, train'd up and in perpetuall pay, with 400. light horse, and 100. gendarmes, all which are quarter'd in so narrow a compasse that he can command them all to his Court at *Florence* in fower and twenty howers; The Duke of *Savoy*, who is accounted also one of her Princes, is far beyond the *Florentine* in power; There be also in Her the Dukes of *Parma*, of *Urbino* and *Mantoua*, who are Soverain Princes. Besides all these, *Italie* hath three Republicques, viz. that of *Venice*, that of *Genoa*, and that of *Luca*, which may be sayed to differ one from the other as the three degrees of comparifon, wherof *Venice* is the superlatif; and indeed she may be term'd so, being compar'd to any Republic on earth, take her power by sea and land together, It is well known that Kingdomes take their denomination diversly; som take their names from the whole bulk of Earth and Countrey it self which they possesse, as the Kingdom of *Spain*, the Kingdom of *Denmark*, &c. Som are denominated *ab eminentiori*, from the chief Metropolis, as *Rome* in times pass'd had the glory to denominat the whole Empire, and after her *Constantinople*, and as now *Morocco* names that Kingdom, and *Naples* christneth Hers, though I must confesse the King of *Spain* now adaies termes not himself King of *Naples*, but *Utrinsque Sicilia*, of both *Sicules*, and it may be thought he doth this to displease the Pope the lesse, who still claymes title to it. Thus is it with Kingdoms, but touching *Commonwealths*, They for the most part take allways their denomination from the principall Cittie, as *Athens* of old, with divers others, and now *Venice*, *Genoa*, &c. But I find that *Venice* takes the state upon Her to be nam'd still in the plurall number *Venetia*; which strain of statelines, doubles with other things she borrowed from the Greeks, who nam'd sundry of their Citties only in the plurall, as *Theba*, *Athens*, &c. but more of this hereafter: Now to her government.

Of the Government, constitution, and frame of the Signorie of Venice.

There is not any thing that discovers the prudence of a people more than the manner and method of their Government; Government is that great hinge wheron all Kingdoms and Commonwealths do move: But in this *Aequorean* Republic, for she may not improperly be call'd so, in regard She commands, secures, and scowres all the yeer long above 700. miles of Sea, for that is the extent of the *Adriatic* Gulph from the Cittie of *Venice*, to *Otranto* in *Calabria*, I say Government in Her may be call'd the rudder that steers the great vessell of State; Her constitutions and lawes are the ligaments and cables, felicity, wealth and glory are the sayls, and the breath of her Senators the wind that blowes them: The common good is the pole wherat the needle or lillie of

the compas allways points, *Religion* the main mast which bears the colours of her *Saint*, though the chief *Pilot* or *Master* of this vessell (the *Doge*) be of himself but as a head of wood, a *Testa di legno* (set up in the forecasse of the stern) without the coadvise of som of the *Masters mates*, wherof there are many, because she wold not be subject to the infirmities and faylings of one, who might haply erre, and be mistaken in the use of the compasse, or transported with irregular passions.

Now, there is nothing so uncertain and difficult as the Art of Government, *Hominem homini imperare difficilimum*, and those who from *Apprentices* have bin bredd up *Fourneyemen*, and *Masters* in this art, and have spent their youth, manhood, and a long time of old age therein, yet when they left the world they profess'd themselves still but *Novices* therin; And this may be imputed to those various events and contingencies which attend humane negotiations, together with the discrepant fancies of men, specially of the common multitudine, who in lightnes match the winds, and outgoe the waves of the Sea in fury oftentimes. Ther is a certain way to break, guide, and keep in aw all other *Animalls*, though never so savage and strong; but there is no such certain way to govern a swarm of men, in regard of such frequent turbulencys of spirit, and variety of opinions proceeding from the *Rational* faculty, which other creatures, that are contented only with *sense* are not subject unto: and this may be sayed to be one of the inconveniences that attend *Reason*.

But if ever any hath brought humane government and policy to a science which consists of certitudes, the Venetian Republic is She, who is as dextrous in ruling men as in rowing of a gallie or gondola, otherwise She could never have lasted so long, and kept in such an exact obedience 3. millions of men, for therabouts by frequent censures that have bin made is the number of her subjects.

We are going now to describe the method this Republic hath allways us'd in Her government, which is the most materiall thing in point of knowledg: For to stand raking the ashes of times pass'd to find out the pedigree of a Peeple, Countrey or Cittie; or to know their power and wealth, their exploits and extent of territory, affords only matter of discours; but to pry into the policy and soul of a State, wheron her government and whole incolumity depends, is a knowledg far more advantageous and usefull, for therein ther may be things for imitation: Therefore in treating of this Republic, I will begin with the most necessary part, *viz.* the form of her Government.

THe Venetian Government is a compounded thing, for it is a mixture of all kinds of governments, if the division of the *Philosopher* into *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy* and *Democracy* be allowed to be perfect: This government may be sayed to have a grain of Monarchy, a dose of Democracy, and a *dramme* if not an ounce of Optimacy.

The Duke, Doge or Prince hath something of a Monarch in him, as will further appeer.

The Senat which consists of 120. Counsellors, of Decemvirs whose Colledg consists of 17. Senators, and of Sages or *Præconsultors*, which make a number of 16. choice men. The

The great Councell which is composd of a generall convention of Citizens, and this hath much of *Democracy* in it.

Of the Duke or Prince of Venice.

ALL things to whom the God of Nature hath given an *entity*, propend to *unity*; wherein Earth comes to the nearest resemblance with Heaven; for nothing conduceth more to regularity and order, no strength is so operative as the *united*: therfore the Venetian people having tryed for som hundred yeers the government of *Consulls*, and afterwards of *Tribunes*, they found it an inconvenience, or deformity rather, to have two heads upon one body, and so thought it at last a better policy to sett upp one head: but the miscarriage and exorbitancies of the *Tribunes* were the cause that they fell upon this alteration. Whereupon a Generall Assembly being convokd, wherein the Bishop of *Grada* presided, divers Speeches were made, That *ther was no more hope of the Venetian Commonwealth and public liberty, which had bin preservd and purchasd by their noble Progenitors with such heroic resolution, unlesse the tyranny of the Tribunes might be suppressd; otherwise they might be sayed to have left the firm land, to find out slavery among the waters, &c.*

Many high acrimoniall Orations were pronouncd at this Convention of that nature; wherof ther was one more notable than the rest, which is inserted before the legend of *Paulutia Anafesto*; the first Duke or Prince of *Venice*, as will appeer hereafter in the *Historicall* part of this Work.

Upon the pronouncing of these Speeches, they gave an unanimous shout and suffrage, that a Duke or Prince should be elected, who might represent the whole honor and Majesty of the State, but with such cauteles and reservations that might consist with the public Liberty. And this mutation happend, according to the approvedst Authors, in the year after the incarnation 697.

This Duke ever since hath had the prime place in the Republic; He hath a kind of Regall, though dependent, power; He hath the representation and gravity of a Soverain Governor; He is allwaies stild, *Serenissime Princeps*, and reverence is don to him accordingly; He goes allwayes cladd in silk and purple, sometimes he shewes himself to the public in a robe of cloth of gold, and a white mantle; He hath his head covered with a thinn coyf, and on his forehead upward he weares a crimson kind of mitre with a gold border, and behind, it turns up in form of a horn; On his sholders he carries Ermin skins to the middle, which is still a badg of the *Consulls* habit; On his feet he weares embroderd Sandalls tied with gold buttions, and about his middle a most rich Belt embroderd with costly jewells; In so much that the habit of the Duke, when at festivalls he shewes himself in the highest state, is valued at above 100000. crownes: He hath a place elevated like a Throne in the Senat. Besides public, he hath peculiar Officers and Ministers of his own, dignified with sundry titles, who have their salary from the Republic: He hath a

Chancelor, a Knight Major, who is by particular appellation calld the *Dukes Knight*; He hath divers Chaplaines and Churchmen to attend him, commonly calld *DonZelli*, who wayt on him when he goes abroad; All Magistrats and Cittizens whatsoever speak to him standing, and bare-headed, but he doth not rise up to any; All public Letters go forth in his name being seald with *lead*, a particular priviledg which Pope *Alexander* the third gave him, for the high favors that *Venice* did the said Pope when he was forced to fly thither for Sanctuary against the rage of the Emperour *Frederic Barbarossa*; All Decrees, Lawes, and public instruments are promulgd in his name; All coines, as well gold as sylver, bear his stamp; All Letters from forren Princes are addressd to him, and answers returnd under his hand, and whether he be present or no yet all Speeches are directed to him, being stild allwayes by Ambassadors and others, *Serenissimo Principe*, Most gracious Prince, in the *concret*, and *Serenità*, in the *abstract*.

The office of the Duke was of larger extent at first, but now the principall duties of it are, That he preside in all Councells, as well the great Councell, as other Colleges of Senators; That he have care that every Magistrat acquit himself of his duty; That every Wensday he visit all the Courts, and put every one in remembrance of his office, that privas causes be not neglected, or public delayed: He is not capable of any other inferior office; if he find that any one neglects his duty, he is to convent him before the whole Colledg, and give him sharp reprehensions, but he never useth to do so in privat, and if the offence require it he transmitts him over to the Judges; He is often to grace with his presence the Courts of Justice, wher he hath a suffrage; but He can passe no public Instrument, nor dispatch any busines of himself without the adjunction of other Senators; nor can he leave the Cittie, or marry any forrener without the knowledg and consent of the Senat; Infomuch that we read of Duke *Falerio* that was putt to death for marrying a Stranger without the suffrage of the Senat: In fine, this high politicall Magistrat hath only the *presence* of a Soverain Prince, but nothing of the *power*.

In the old records of *Venice* the reasons are yet extant which inducd the Republic to elect this formall Prince for her Head, wherof these are the remarkablest, *We have observed that in this vast Universitie of the World bodies according to their severall natures have multiplicity of motions, yet they receive vertu and vigor but from one, which is the Sun; All causes derive their originalls from one supreme cause; We see that in one Creature they are many differing members, and faculties who have various functions, yet they are all guided by one soul, &c.*

The Duke for his Salary hath 100. Zecchins (which coin wants above twelvenpence of ten shillings English) brought him every Wensday to his Palace.

Among all these restraints which keep him from trenching upon the Common Liberty, and doing injustice, ther is another, and that a shrewd one, which is that *Lex repetundarum* may be executed upon his Heir after his death, for there is a *Funta* appointed to make a scrutiny of the actions

actions of the deceased Duke, and if any can prove he was wronged by him, he shall have reparation out of the Heirs estate.

Of the Venetian Senat.

THe Senat consists of 120. grave men, wherof ther are threescore calld Ordinary Senators, and threescore of the Junta; they are calld all together the *Pregadi*, because being taken for wise men they are prayed to be assisting the Commonwealth with their Counsells.

The sixty ordinary are created yearly by the suffrages of the great Councell in the months of *August* and *September*, observing this order, that at every meeting six be chosen of the sayed Senators, untill the whole number be compleated.

The other sixty Senators of the Junta are ascribed unto these other sixty; but there is one caution observd, that ther may be but two of a kinred chosen among these sixty; but the other allow three of a kinred.

To these 120. Senators are adjoind the Duke and Decemvirs, with other Orders, the 40. Judges of Capirall Causes, the Provosts of Salt and Corn, the Sages of health, the Prefect of the Arsenal, and Proctors of Saint *Mark*, with other Magistrats; and these in effect have the management of the whole Republic: They treat of peace and warr, their power extends to lay taxes, to make extraordinary levies and erogations of moneys: They make choice of Ambassadors to be employd to forren Princes; they have power allso to summon the Sages of Land and Sea, with all the chief Magistrats.

Of the Decemvirs and their Colledg.

THe Colledg of Decemvirs is composd of 17. Senators, ten of these are chosen by the great Councell, and are in Ordinary, having this priviledg, that he who is in that Magistracy may not procure in two yeers that any mention be made of him in other meetings and conventions.

Of these evry month three Senators are chosen to be of the *quorum*, these are the chief of the Colledg, & are commonly calld *Capi di dieci*, the Heads of ten, and have power to summon the Decemvirall Colledg, and referr matters unto it; They have a privat Conclave where they daylie meet, having Officers of sundry sorts to attend them. They read the Letters addressd to the Decemvirat Colledg, and make relation unto them of the substance therof, and ther must be two of them which must do it.

To these Decemvirs is adjoind the Duke in chief and six Councillors, whose peculiar priviledg is to be chosen out of the six Precincts or *Sextaries* of the Citty, this order observd, that three be chosen this side of the Rialto, and three on the other; They are to be assistant to the Duke eight months, with Him they are to take care of all things that concern the Wellfare of the Republic and Citty; It is sufficient that

power of them subscribe all public Orders. Touching matters of moment they are to make relation to the great Councell.

The Prince therefore, with the Decemvirs and six layed Councillors do constitut the Decemvirat Colledg, which is the supremest authority, and hath a kind of *Dictatorian* power. They are to take care that no discord or any public quarrells happen which may disturb the peace of the Citty, and draw after them any insurrection. They are to have an eye that no factious or fantastic Cittyzen introduce any dangerous innovation.

That no counterfeit coyn be stamped or brought in.

That Sodomy, and all other flagitious crimes be enquired after, which they have inappealable power to punish.

Of the Colledg of Sages or Preconsultors.

THis Colledg consists of 16. Senators which are of the chiefeft Cittyzens, and they are calld *Savii*, or Sages, because they are presumd to antecell others both in dignity and experience: These use to preconsume of generall matters tending to the administration of the Commonwealth, as also of peace and warr, with other the most important affairs, and make relation therof to the Senat.

This Colledg is divided to three Orders; the first containes 6. Senators, which are calld *Savii grandi*, the great Sages, who consult of all things touching the honor of the Republic in generall, specially of Sea matters, and other requisitts reflecting upon peace or warr, and make reports of their Consultations to the Senat.

The second Order consists of 5. Cittyzens or Gentlemen of *Venice*, commonly calld *Savii de terra firma*, the Sages of the Continent, who although they have the like authority to make report of matters to the Senat, yet are they much inferior to the former in dignity and trust: Their chiefeft duty is to have care of the Militia by Land, and of salaries of such soldiers that are entertaind by the *Republic*, whether Forreiners or Natives.

The third degree consists of 5. Cittyzens or Gentlemen of *Venice*, who are commonly young men, & *prima lanuginis*, of the first shaving of the razor as they say, but learned, and well verid in the Sciences, which are inferior to the other two, and make report of all Sea busineses to the Senat; and these are calld *Savii degli ordini*, and they are culld out of the choicest Wits to be made capable for future employments.

To this Colledg of Sages or Preconsultors are adjoind the Prince, the six Councillors, the Triumvirs of the forty who preside over Criminall Causes; So that the whole Colledg may be sayed to consist of 26. Senators or Cittyzens of the Patrician Order.

The maner of the convention of this Colledg is thus, the Prince sits in the middle mounted upon a high Seat, and about him those Councillors who were chosen out of the six Precincts of the Citty, three on the right, and three on the left hand, and after that rule the other Preconsultors

consultors sit: But the young men of the third degree use to sit lower.

Their office is, that evry Sunday and Festivall day they meet in the *Ducall Palace* to hear privat complaints at such an hower, and to relieve them presently, or else to referr them to Delegats, or make a report to the Senat, according to the merit of the cause.

They hear all Letters read by the Secretary of State that were sent to the Senat.

They are also to hear forren Ambassadors and Agents. It is to be observd that these Preconsultors continue in authority but 6. months.

Forren Agents affaires, and privat complaints being heard, they retire to another room to consult of public busines, observing this Order:

Ther is a President chosen evry week, who proposeth to the rest what is to be agitated, and he asketh their opinion severally: The eldest delivers his opinion, and so evry one according to seniority, but the young are silent unlesse it be about som naval busines; The last of all having collected the opinion of the rest, delivers his suffrage; The matter being thus canvassd and discussd *pro & con* with much deliberation, they make an addresse to the Prince and Councillors, who joyn again in the debate; That opinion to which the Prince and the Councillors shall adhere unto is couchd in writing; Then the whole Senat convenes, before whom that which was debated by the Preconsultors is first handled, with their opinions; and if more then one half of the Senat give their suffrage therunto, passeth for a *Decree*.

Of the public Scribes, and of the great Chancellor.

IN evry Colledg of Senators ther be public Scribes which are of the Senats Councill, and are held to be of the best rank of men, and of highest integrity; they are elected by the public suffrage of the *Decemvirs*, and sitt allwayes in the Councill, their duty is,

To be ever present at the consultations of the Colledg and Senat, in passing all Decrees.

The registering of all transactions, and the engrossing of all instruments whether for public or privat respect is committed to their care and trust, to which purpose they have large Salaries allowd them.

Some of these are Ministers only to the *Decemvirs*, to register all their Acts, being privy to all things that are transacted in that Colledg; in which honor they remain during life.

Of these one is chosen by the solemn suffrage of the great Councill, who is chiefest of all, and is calld by the title of *il Gran Cancelliero*, which Officer is held in singular esteem and honor; He is dignified with the Order of Knighthood; evry Patrician and Senator gives him the place, except the *Proffors of Saint Mark*; no secrecy of State must be conceald from him; He hath a great revenu out of the public stock; And at his Exequies ther is allwayes a funerall Oration, which honor is don to no other but to the Prince.

of

Of the Great Councell.

THe great Councell consists of an universall meeting of all the Cittizens, and the whole Republic may be sayed to depend upon it; but it is composd of such Cittizens that are of the Patrician Order only, wherof som being passd twenty yeers of age are admitted to sit in Councell by extraordinary favor, provided that the *Advocat Magistrat* give testimony that they are descended of a Noble or Patrician familie: Besides, ther must attestation be made that they are legitimat and no bastards, thre must be proof allso made by oth that they are passd twenty yeers of age, but they are chosen by lotts: and though peradventure fortune favour them not then, yet after they are passd 25. they are capable by birth of this public honor, and to sitt in Councell, with the provisos pointed at before.

The office of the Great Councell is to ordain and ratifie all Lawes and Constitutions appertaining to the Republic; they allso make choice of all Magistrats, as well in Townes as Countreys, and of any other Officer to whom any public trust or civill incumbency is committed.

Of Officers or Magistrats in generall.

ALL Magistrats are either *Urban* or *Forren*, viz. of Town or Country; to them of the Townes belongs the cognizance of all causes as well criminall as civill; to them belongs the administration and erogation of all public sommes that arise into the Tresury either out of public tolls and imposts, or other extraordinary taxes and leavies of moneys; To them it belongs to consult what may be added to the wellfare, honor or bewtie of the Cittie.

Forren Magistrats, as they call them, are those that obey and put in execution all the Decrees of the Senat in the Countreys up and down, as allso all comands by Sea in Fleets and Armies: All these Magistrats are but temporary, and have a time limited them; the Urbane or Citty Magistrats some of them continue in office 6. months, others 8. months, others are annuall; But the Forren or Countrey Officers are commonly twice so long in an office; but the Maritime Officers som are bienniall, som trienniall, and som quinquenniall of 5. yeers continuance.

Of Judges.

AMong the Urbane or Citty Magistrats the Judges are rankd, and they have the cognizance of all capitall or civill causes, and they are calld either *Judges of the first Instance*, or, *Judges of appeal*: The Judges *prima instantia* are divided into many Tribunalls.

On the first Tribunall sit the *Judices proprietatum*, Judges of Proprieties, who

who determin all sutes touching Lands or Houses within the precincts of the Cittie, to them also belongs all Widdowes cases.

On the second Tribunall sitt the *Judices procuratorum*; These if any controversy arise touching Lands on the Continent, or Minors and Pupils right, have power to determin it.

On the third Tribunall sitt the *Judices Mercatorum*, the Judges or Consuls of Marchants, who determin all controversies belonging to trafic and marchandizing, who must be formerly well versd in the practicall part and mystery of comerce.

On the fourth Tribunall sitt the *Judices Advenarum*, the Judges of Strangers, before whom all matters and differences touching forreiners are brought and decided.

On the fifth Tribunall sitt the *Judices Petitionum*, Judges of Petitions, who determin all controversies touching privat bargains, stipulations, and contracts.

On the sixth Tribunall sitt *Judices Mobilium*, the Judges of Moveables, before whom causes of lesser importance are pleaded.

On the seventh Tribunall sitt the Judges whom in the vulgar language they call *Cattaveri*, which is a much as to say, Inquisition of truth: These if any thing be found hid or lost, and if any controversy arise about it, have power to determin it.

On the eighth Tribunall sitt *Judices publici*, commonly calld *Piovegi*, who if any man raise a building that may impede the common passage, or the channells of the Cittie, are to prevent it, and punish the Offendor.

On the ninth Tribunall sitt certain Judges calld *Sopragastaldi*; These sell the goods of condemnd persons under a *Speare*, and decide all matters belonging to the *Lombards*, as pawnings and lendings.

On the tenth Tribunall sitt *Judices Examinatores*, the Judges Examiners, who determin all causes touching depositions and oaths.

On the eleventh Tribunall sitt *Judices praefectorum noctis*, the Provosts of the night, that heare all brabbles or misdemeanures committed in the night, and punish them: To them also it belongs to adjudg all controversies twixt men and mayd servants, &c.

The highest Councell for criminall causes, except the Decemvirat, is a Councell calld the *Councell of forty*, for so many meet there upon life and death, and they are very choice men.

In the Cittie of Venice ther are also Officers who are Supervisers of all Manufactures, and other things of moment: The first are *Signori di panni d'oro*, the Superintendents of cloth of gold; these do warily looke that no fraud be usd in any cloths of tiffue, or other cloths of gold, sylver or silk, and severely punish the transgressors herin.

Ther are other Officers calld *Provveditori della Zeccha*, their charge is to look to all sorts of bullions and coines, that they be not embasd and adulterated, and that the par of the Standard be kept even.

Ther be other Officers calld *Signori alla farina*, who are to look to all sorts of grain that they be well conditiond; they are also to looke to the corn that is stord up in the public Magazines, that if any grow

musty, they are to putt good into the place.

Ther be other Officers calld *Signori al Sale*, and this is a great office, for all the Salt which is brought into the Cittie out of Salt pitts round about is to be brought to them, who store it up in Magazins, and no privat man can sell Salt unlesse he buyes it of these Magistrats, who are strictly accountable to the Senat; these Salt Officers have power to decide all controversies that may arise touching this commodity.

Ther be other Officers calld *Signori delle biani*, whose care is that the Cittie be allwayes provided with a sufficient proportion of wheat, and other grain.

Ther is no Cittie that is more carefull of her health than *Venice*, therefore ther be Officers, and they are qualified persons, whose charge is to have a speciall care that the Plague creep not into the Cittie, and if any infection com, they are to suppress it with their utmost endeavours; they are to see that the Pesthouse be at least three miles distant from the Cittie; if any hath conversd with an infected body he must for 40. dayes to the Pesthouse before he can return to his own dwelling.

Ther is no Shipp whatsoever that comes thither from another Countrey can have pratique or be permitted to com ashore and sell his marchandise unlesse he produce a Certificat that he comes from a place not infected, otherwise he is to stay aboard 40. dayes.

Ther are other Officers calld *Proveditori di comun*, and they are three; they supervise the minor fraternities, among others they looke to Printers and Stationers, and sett prizes upon all new Books; They have the Superintendency of Bridges, Wells, Conduits, Wayes, Cawles and such public things which they must see repaired; They are also to see that Shippes be not over laden, and they have power to punish such who transgresse herein.

Ther are other Officers calld *Proveditori all' Arsenale*, Provissors of the Arsenal; they have care to furnish that huge Magazin of strength (one of the greatest on Earth, as shall be declar'd hereafter) with all things that shall be necessary, as Carpenters, Smiths and all other Opificers, but to have speciall care that they be choice able Artists, and of the most ingenuous sort, unto whom they pay their wages evry eighth day.

Ther be other Officers of great trust calld *Signori all' acque*; these are to have speciall care that no man whatsoever do any thing that may impair the Banks, Dikes and Stronds about the Cittie, that no Carrion be thrown into the Channells running through the Streets of the Cittie, that no place be choakd up with Sands to stopp Navigation; These Officers have power to punish severely all such that transgresse in this kind, and they may be sayed to be Conservators of the *Walls* of the Cittie which are the *Waters*; These Officers are also to appoint the Stations where Shippes shall ride at anchor; and lastly, that the Channells be clesed once a year.

Ther are other Officers calld *Signori sopra il ben vivere*, which are no other than *Censors*, but because that word is too rigid for such a free Cittie they modifie it by another title: These are to take care that the Lawes and Customes of the Cittie be observd, and if any one offend they

they have power to punish by pecuniary fines, they take cognisance of the wages of Servants, and punish such that have embezeld any things from their Masters.

There are other Officers calld *Syndicks*, who supervise the acts of public Notaries that serve the Cittie and the Magistrats therof, taking care that they exact no unlawfull reward, and they have power to sett rates upon all commodities.

There be other Officers calld *Sopra Consoli*; they take cognisance of Merchants and Creditors affairs, and compose differences between them; they preserve the Debter from Prison, and allow him two months time to pay his Creditor, and in the interim he hath liberty to go abroad to negotiate and compound with his Creditors; but if the Creditors be so refractory and perverse that they will not hearken to any composition, they may by authority compell them therunto: These Officers have power to sell the goods of Bankrupts and Fugitives under the *Spear*, as they call it; They have power also to keep moneys depositated.

There be other Officers calld *Signori alla mercantia*; these have power to appoint wages for Mechaniques, and to end all controversies twixt Man and Master; they supervise the prizes of all marchandises, and moderate them; they take care that no Mechanic use any fraud in his work, and if it be found they punish him severely.

There are other Officers calld *Signori della grassa*; they supervise all Sellers of Cheese, Butter, Oil, Salt flesh, as Bacon and Lard, and sett moderate prizes upon them, which if not obeyd they have power to punish by pecuniary amercement.

There be other Officers calld *Ragion vecchia*; their charge is to register in Books the expences made upon the coming of any Prince or Ambassador into the Cittie by decree of the Senat, and to take care that while a forren Prince be in the Cittie he be honorably entreated, and not overreachd in the prizes of things.

There be other Officers calld *Giustizia vecchia*; their charge is to supervise all weights and mesures, and that whatsoever is sold or bought be according to the Standard; they have power to impose rates upon all sorts of fruits and roots, and punish such that obey them not; they preside also over Shoppkeepers and Mechaniques, that none take down an old sign and set up a new without their leave: If any hire a Boy or Servant, he must make his addressse to these Officers and acquaint them with the conditions, otherwise there is no bargain in that kind of any validity, nor is either party bound to stand to it.

There be other Officers calld *Giustizia nuova*, these Officers supervise Taverns, & taphouses of all sorts, with all victualing houses and hostries, they overlook that they pay all duties, they take care that no musty or ill conditiond wine be sold, they have power to punish and decide controversies.

There be other Officers calld *Signori sopra le pompe*, and they are a triumvirat; they supervise that no extraordinary excess or luxury be used in food, in apparel or household stuffe, and in other things which appertain to food and rayment; they have power to restrain all immoderate

expences, lest the wealth of the Citizens be exhausted by too much profulenes and riot, having authority to punish the Transgressors of their Orders by pecuniary mulcts, and to determin themselves all controversies in that kind; and these Officers are of high respect and authority.

Of the Procurators of Saint Mark.

THese high Officers, and they are the highest of all next the Prince, enjoy perpetually during life the privileges and dignity of Senators, and have right of suffrage in evry Councel; Their authority is coetaneous with the Duke himself and expires not till death, the office of the Great Chancellor hath the like prerogative; And those Citizens soly are delegated to this Magistracy, who having passd all other offices of honor, are reputed to be men of most eminent and singular probity, and ability, so that they becom the principall pillars of the Republic ever after; All degrees of peeple do shew them a speciall reverence, and whersoever they chance to com they have priority of place given them; They have the tutele of Pupills and Orphans when ther is no Gardian nominated in the Will of the Testator; They are divided into three classes which they term *Procuratorias*, and in evry one ther are three which preside.

The *Procurators* of the first classis are the chieftest and of most ample authority and trust; They supervise the Temple of Saint Mark, and together with the Duke they have the government therof; They have the administration of all the revenues that appertain to that Church, which are very great; and once evry month they assemble, after their solemn devotions, to receave the rents therof, and they are carefull to provide all things that are necessary to continue the splendor of that Sanctuary, and keep it in repaire.

The *Procurators* of the second classis, who obtain their name from the first (although they be not civill incumbents of the Church) are Administrators of the *old procuracie* as they call it, and to their charge is committed the care of all the Pupills on this side the *Rialto*, which is about half the Cittie.

The *Procurators* of the third classis are also calld by the same title *Procurators of Saint Mark*, these preside in the *new procuracie* as they term it, and to their office belongs to have care of all the Pupills the other side of the *Rialto*: Evry one of these three classes have in his charge to provide for the poor and indigent, and having mighty proportions of money with other wealth comitted unto their trust, they rayse great sommes to that use, as also for the relief and enlargement of Prisoners, and for the redemption of Captives, wherof ther are multitudes that live in miserable servitud among the Turks.

Of Extern Officers and Magistrats which are employd abroad out of the Cittie of Venice.

IN the greatest Citties which are under the Dominion of the *Republic*, ther are commonly sower Magistrats, a *Pretor* or *Podestà*, a *Prefect*, a *Questor*, and the Governor of the Castle, wherof in som places ther are two or three; In the lesser Townes ther is commonly but one Magistrat who is the *Pretor* or *Podestà*.

The *Pretor* administers the Law to all the Inhabitants of the place wherof he is Magistrat, and determines all sutes, and punisheth Delinquents; He hath the most knowing Civil Lawyers for his Assessors, provided they be not born in the place but som where els under the Signorie to avoyd partiality towards Kinred.

The *Prefect* or *Captain* hath the care of the *Militia*, and governs the Soldiery that are within that Precinct, he decides all sutes between them, and punisheth Offendors; He hath the care of the Castle or Forts, of the Walls and Ramparts, together with the Gates of the Cittie, and of all the Tributs, Gabells and Demeanes which belong to the *Republic* both in Town and the circumjacent Countrey: but ther is an appeal permitted from *Pretor* and *Prefect* to the Senat in som cases, according to clauses of reservation.

The *Questor* is but one, or two at most; these have the administration of public receipts and erogations of money, who have power to exact it, and employ it, and they keep the Books of public accounts, yet they seldom do any thing without the command of the *Prefect*, and somtimes without the concurrence and order of *Pretor* and *Prefect* they cannot expend any somme; In the Ilands they have the title of Councillors, and they are assistant to the *Prefect* in matters of Law, but they have no suffrage at all.

The Governors of Castles are somtimes one, somtimes many; these have the authority over the Soldiers, and care of the Armes and Ammunition, and all things conducing therunto; yet ther is none chosen to be Governor of any Castle but is subject to the *Prefect* or *Podestà*, having no jurisdiction of himself: But in the lesser Towns the *Pretor* executs the office both of *Prefect* and *Questor*, and administers the Law to the Inhabitants; He chastiseth Offendors, and hath the management of the public receipts, but matters are appealable from him to the Senat, and most commonly to the Councill of forty.

Of Extern Magistrats in Fleets and Armies.

THese Magistrats are of two kinds; the Generall in warr upon the Continent is commonly som forren Prince, He is not chosen either of the Senatorian or Patrician order; he hath an ample Salarie, viz. ten Captaines pay, and 4000. crownes a yeer; ther goes along

with him two Legats or *Proveditors*, who are Gentlemen of *Venice*, and of the Senatorian order, and without the concurrence of their advice he neither acts nor decrees any thing, nor can he attempt any thing himselfe without their intervention: These *Proveditors* are perpetually Assistants to the Generall, they pay the Soldiers Salaries, and their main care is that nothing be don rashly to the detriment or dishonor of the Republic. In Sea service every Gallie hath a Prefect or Captain who comand both men and Vessell, he may inflict punishments but he hath no power of life and death; he hath absolut comand ore the Mariners and Rowers, and of all things within the Gallie. Ther are also Officers calld *Presidents* of Gallies, and they comand fower or five Gallies. In time of peace ther are commonly fower of them, their charge is that the Sea be kept secure for Marchants and Navigators; that they suppress Pyrats, and scowre the Gulph of Corsaries.

Ther is another Officer or Admirall calld *Classis Legatus*, and he hath comand ore the whole Fleet, and over the *Prefects* or Captains of evry Gallie. Ther is seldom any Generall of a Fleet but in time of warr, and then he hath absolut comand ore the whole Fleet, and a kind of *Dictatorian* power in all the maritime Provinces, yet hath he no implicit Commission, but before he attempt any thing considerable he must receive directions and commands from the Senat.

Of other Extern Magistrats which use to be created upon extraordinary occasions.

These are calld *Syndiques*, who are created evry five yeers, and use to be employd abroad both in the Continent and maritime Provinces which are subject to the Republic: They take knowledg, and make Scrutinies into the cariage and actions of all *Pretors* or *Podestas*, and other Magistrats who are employed abroad upon the Service of the Signorie; If they find any to have exceeded their Commissions, and perpetrated any thing against the Lawes, they give information accordingly, which is unquestionable, and taken for certain truth.

Ther is an Officer who in time of exigence is appointed *Proveditor generall* of *Candy*, and he is chosen by the suffrages of the Senat; He during the time comand the whole Iland in a supreme way of authority, and hath a kind of *Dictatorian* power for the time: If he comes to any Town or Castle they presently bring him the Keys; He administers the Law himself, if he please, and disposeth of all public levies of moneys; he superintends all kind of Magistrats and Officers both by Land and Sea, and is subject to no controulment but what comes from the Senat.

Ther is another great Officer calld *Proveditor General* of the Continent, and he also useth to be created upon extraordinary occasions; He comand all the firm Land in the highest way of authority; He hath a transcendent power over all *Prefects* or Captains, and all other Magistrats and Officers that are under the Empire of the Republic, yet ther
is

is nothing of moment can occur, or be putt in execution, but he must receive directions and comand from the Senat.

There are other Officers call'd the *Proconsuls of Syria and Egypt*, who are created by the suffrage of the Senat, and they are trienniall Magistrats; They have their residence either in *Aleppo in Syria*, or in the *Gran Cayro in Egypt*, where they live in a decent and splendid equipage; All differences twixt any Marchants that acknowledg obedience to the Signorie of *Venice* are brought before them, and they have power to determine the controversie; These *Proconsuls* do also good offices to all other Christians, whether Italians or any other Nation, that resort thither either for curiosity or comerce, and they are respected as if they were in qualitie of Ambassadors, or Soverain Agents.

The Republic of *Venice* employeth divers Ambassadors abroad, and no State more, and they are either Ordinary or Extraordinary; The Commission of the Ordinary Ambassadors continueth for three years; These are employed to the Pope, the Emperour, the Kings of *France, Spain, and England*, to the Duke of *Savoy*, the States of *Holland*, and they have commonly allwayes one residing in all these Courts in a magnificent maner; They have also an Ambassador in *Constantinople* attending the motions of the great Turk, call'd the *Bailio*, residing there perpetually, and the Republic allowes him a greater Salarie than to any other; nor indeed hath he any sett Salarie, but whatsoever he spends is allowd him upon his own accounts without examination; all these are elected by the suffrage of the Senat.

The Republic employs also abroad Ambassadors Extraordinary very often, who have a greater latitud of power, and are soly for matter of State, or som particular negotiation: The ordinary scope of their Legations is either to congratulate or condole with Soverain Princes when occasion is offerd. All these Ambassadors have Secretaries whom the Senat takes notice of, and the Republic allowes them a Salarie, and they are persons of good extraction and breeding; this is don because they may afterwards be in a capacity, for their knowledg and experience, to be Ministers of State themselves: But touching Ambassadors Extraordinary ther are never any employd unlesse they have bin Ambassadors formerly. And touching this kind of employment the Republic hath certain degrees, or Salarie ascents and rules of removall, which are never transgress'd. These kind of political and public Ministers are strictly examin'd by a Junta expressly for the same end at their return touching their comportment in the Legation, They are to discover what Presents they receavd from the Prince or State to whom they were sent, and it is of dangerous consequence for them to conceale any thing.

These are the Magistrats and Officers wheron the Republic of *Venice* hath stood firm, as upon so many pillars, so many centuries: Now, ther are few or none who are greater Patriots than the Venerian Gentlemen, their prime study is the public good and glory of their Countrey, and civil prudence is their principall trade wherunto they arrive in a high measure; Yet as it may be easily observd, though these Gentlemen are extraordinary wise when they are conjunct, take them single they are but as other Men.

of

*Of the Dominions and Territories that belong to
Venice, wherof She hath absolut and
Soverain Command.*

THis *Mayden* Cittie hath large *fardingalls*, and long *sleeves* which reach farr by Land, and they stretch by Sea farther than many Kingdoms: Upon the Continent of *Italie* She doth Signorize over three entire Provinces; The Mark of *Treviso* (as they calld it,) *Friuli*, and *Istria*; She hath also a good part of *Lombardie*, viz. the Territories of *Brescia*, of *Bergamo*, and *Verona*, then She hath *Crema*: Eastward She confines partly upon the Arch-Dukes of *Austria*, partly upon the *Adriatic* Sea: Northward She confines also upon the Austrian territories, upon *Trent*, and *Swisserland*: Westward She hath the Duchy of *Milan* for her neighbour; the same Duchy is her contiguous neighbour Southward also, together with the Duchy of *Mantoua*, and the Ecclesiastic Dominions.

The Mark of *Treviso* is a very plentifull and generous Countrey, full of opulent Townes, and splendid Citties; the Natives are esteemed very dextrous and apt to make Statesmen of, being a people much given to contemplation and gaining of knowledg; they are also active when necessity requires in the management of armes; the Countrey abounds with corn, wine, and all sorts of fruit, and they have many pleasant spacious fields; ther are hott and wholsom fountaines there, divers sorts of mineralls, many noble rivers and lakes; the air is temperat, healthy and delightfull; in fine, She is endowed by benign Nature with so many gifts, that She may well take place among the Noblest Regions of *Italie*.

The Countrey of *Friuli* (in old times *forum Julii*) is terminated Eastward by the River *Formio*, Northward by the Julian Alps, and Westward also by other parts of the Alps, where the river *Liquentia* separates her from the Mark of *Treviso*; and Southward runns the *Adriatic* Sea: She is a region that hath pleasant fields, well waterd with rivers and fountaines, ther are great store of vineyards, woods, mineralls, and quarries of stone: The noble river *Hydra* runns there, nere which ther is quick-sylver diggd up; the Inhabitants are ingenious enough for all humane Arts, and marchandizing; *Friuli* is commonly among the *Venetians* calld *La Patria*, whence som inferr that they had their Originall thence.

Istria hath for her Bounds Westward the river *Timavus*, Northward the Alps, which separat *Hungarie* and *Carniola* from *Italie*, Eastward She hath the river *Arzias*, the rest is compassd with the *Adriatic* Sea; She is a rough uneven Countrey, yet She may be sayed to swell with hillocks rather than high hills; but She hath one which surpasseth all the rest calld *Monte major*: She hath woods fitt for Shippes and ail other uses; She hath also good store of stone quarreis, whence ther is much marble diggd

diggd out for the service of *Venice* her Mistresse, and other places of *Italie*; The Inhabitants are poorer than in other Countreys, yet they have divers Citties, Townes and Villages.

The Countrey of *Brescia* is of large extent, neer upon one hundred miles, and fifty miles broad; In this tract of *Land* there rise up mountaines, hillocks, plaines and valleys inlayed with Townes, Villages, and plesant Houses very thick in most places; So that ther is little of the earth left idle. In this territorie ther are so many Castles, Townes and Villages, that they can hardly be found thicker any where: The Soyle abounds with wheat, millet and other grains; ther is plenty of wine and oile, with other fruits; Moreover, ther is great quantity of iron and copper diggd up and down in the mines, wherof the Inhabitants make very great benefitt.

The Countrey of *Bergamo* is fertile enough except towards the North, where it is mountainous, rough and barren: Yet ther are valleys in great numbers, wherof som produce wine and oile very plesant, but som of them are steril and good for nothing, only som iron mines are found here and there; In *Bergamo* is spoken one of the coorfeft dialects of all the Italian tounge.

Verona and her Territories are next; She is seated on a very plesant and comodious river the *Adhefis*; She is cape Cittie of the second rank through all *Italie*; Som hold her name to be originally *Brenona* of *Brennus* the Britain, who was General of an Army of *Gaules* for his extraordinary valour; In this name of *Verona* is comprehended the three most renowned Citties of *Italie*, viz. *Ve-Venice*, *Ro-Rome*, and *Na-Naples*; her territories are 65. miles in length, and 40. in bredth: This Cittie hath yet the ruines of one of the fairest Amphitheaters that ever was, and *Catullus* the Poet makes her somewhat more famous because he was born in her: The Countrey circumjacent abounds with wheat, wine, oiles, sheep, and very good fleeces, with abundance of the choicest and most delicat fruits; it hath excellent quarreis of stone, with rivers, lakes and pools, and rare fountains & sources of fresh waters, with most choice medicinal Simples upon the mountain *Baldus* where all Physicians resort.

Crema bordering upon *Milan* with her territory hath an excellent soyl, fruitfull and well cultivated, and extraordinarily well wooded; She hath very generous wines, and exquisit sorts of fruit; many brooks of cleer water which are well stord with fish, and abundance of Lampreys; They have one kind of fish whom the Inhabitants call *Maysoni*, whose head is neer twice as bigg as the body, but of a most savoury tast. *Crema* was a long time under the Vicountship of *Milan* untill the yeer 1405. at which time, together with *Brixia*, it came under the Dominion of the *Signorie* by conditions of peace twixt *Francis Sforza* & them, since when She is mightily improvd in wealth and civilitie; *Johannes Cremensis* was a Natif of this, he was employd Anno 125. by Pope *Honorius* the second in quality of Legat to *England* to dissuade the Clergie from mariage, wherupon a Convocation was calld, wherin the Legat made a very eloquent Speech in comendation of Celibat, and how advantagious it was for Churchmen

to live single and sequestred from the cares of the world, and encombrances of humane affaires.

Padua, a most reverend learned old Citie in Latin calld *Patavium*; *Antenor* the Trojan is recorded to be her Founder, whose Tomb is there still extant; She was erected an Academy Anno 1222. Her fame spreads all the earth over for a Seminary of the best Physicians, having a Garden of Simples accordingly; She is famous for the birth of *Livie* the great Roman Annalist (whose picture is to be seen fresh to this day) and of late years for *Zabarell* and *Maginus*; In former times She was much cryed up for the mansuetude of the men, and the pudicity of her women; so that the Patavian chastity grew to be a proverb, wherunto alludes the Roman Epigrammatist speaking of her in his wanton Poems,

*Tu quoque nequitas nostri lusúsque libelli
Uda puella leges sis Patavina lices.*

Padua was in times pass'd girt about with a treble wall, but a double contents her now, which hath very deep Ditches round about, for the River *Brent* with infinit expence and labour was brought to this Cittie, which hath much advantagd her both for strength and navigation: She is situated in a most delightfull and uberous plain, enjoying a sweet temperat clime, with a singular good soyle by reason of the neighbourhood of the Euganean mountains which are Westward of Her; The Inhabitants have high witts, and apt for pike or pen; The circumference of the Cittie is twofold, inward and outward, the first hath but three miles compas, the second neer upon seven miles; about the Cittie the walks may be calld a perpetuall kind of gallerie; Her Temples and dwelling Houses both public and privat are more magnificent than elsewhere; She hath six stately Gates, five large Markett places; She hath within the Walls 22. great Churches, 23. Monasteries, and 29. Religious Houses for Nunnes; She hath the most renowned Hall for public Justice of any Town in *Italie*, coverd all with lead, and yet proppd upon no pillars; the Councell Court hath Gates and Columns of Marble; She hath 28. Bridges archd over the *Brent* which runns through her; She hath very spacious *Piazzas*; She hath 6. Hospitalls, three for the poor, and three for Pilgrims; She hath a place calld the *Monte de pietá*, which was set up of purpose to root out the lucre and exorbitant feneration of the Jewes, who were usd to demand twenty in the hundred for brocage; She hath two Hospitalls besides for Orphans, and other poor Children: Ther are 38000. Crownes depositated in the hands of severall persons of quality, where the poorer sort may make their addresse with their pawns, and if it be under thirty shillings they pay no use for the money, if it be above they pay five in the hundred for maintaining certain Officers, and releeving of the poor; The Bishoprick of *Padua* is rankd among the best of *Italie*; The Cittizens are great Artists now as in former times, and make much marchandize of Wool: But to give a short description of *Padua* and her territories, this of *Leander* is the best; Southward of her runns the river *Atesiss*; Northward the *Penso*, a little river; Eastward the Venetian lakes, and Westward the Enganean hills, and the Countrey

Coutrey of *Vicenza*, all this circuit about 180. miles, wherein ther are in number 647. Villages and Hamletts, with a world of Countrey Houses whither the Italian Gentlemen and Cittizens use to retire with their families in the Sommer time. The Cittie of *Padua* remaind under the Roman Empire untill She was taken and burnt by *Attila*; then was She repaire by *Narfetes*, and afterwards She was burnt by the *Longobards*, but under *Charles* the Great and other Kings of *Italie* She did not only revive, but flourish again; Under *Otho*, as the rest of the Citties of *Italie*, She began to govern by her own Lawes, and She remaind in form of a Republic till *Frederic* the second, then by the perswasion of *Attilinus* She yeelded her self again to the protection of the Empire, and receavd a German garrison with *Attilinus* yoak, Anno 1237. He presently turnd lawfull power into tyranny, therfore they shook him of: A little after *Marsilius Carrariensis* under the name of Governor drew the Town unto him, but the *Scaligers* thrust him out, who ruld there som Successions, yet afterward *Marsilius* re-enjoyed it and left *Ubertinus* heir, who was thrust out by *Matthius Scaliger*, but was restord again; Then *Marsilius* the second succeeded, who was slain fower dayes after by *Jacobinus* his Oncle, and that *Jacobinus* was slain afterwards of *Gulielmus* the Bastard the fourth yeer of his Principality; Him succeeded *Franciscus*, who very fortunately governd, but attempting to free Vicount *Barnabas* his Son in law he also was cast into Prison by *Johannes Galeacius*, but a little after *Franciscus secundus* receavd the comand of the Cittie from *Galeacius*, and livd in the principality 15. yeers, but with continuall apprehensions of fear till the death of *Galeacius*, at which time the *Scaligers* being nefariously assassinated, he came to be Master also of *Verona*, and lost it a little after with his life; He's Sonnes *Ubertinus* and *Marsilius* went into the fields of *Florence* where they made a Head, and there the noble familie of the *Carrarienses* utterly expird; then the Cittie remaind under the *Venetians* Dominion a few yeers when *Maximilian* the Emperour gott it, but the Republic recoverd it Anno 1409. which they have fortified to good purpose, that being since often assailed and beleigd by the Confederat Princes in that mighty League of *Cambray*, She was able to resist them all.

Vicenza is a Cittie excellently built and beautified with faire Structures, among which the *Pratorium* is most magnificent; She is situated at the foot of a Hill, and divided by two navigable rivers *Bacchillione* and *Rerone*, which tumbling down from the neighbouring Mountains meets with *Bacchillione* in the very Cittie, which *Alianus* reports to have the best Yeeles of all *Italie*: This Cittie abounds with all things conducing to necessity or plesure, in regard of the unusuall fertility of the circumjacent soyl, which affords plenty of grain, wine, and oil, with all maner of fruit; Ther is such a number of Mulberry trees both in Town and Countrey up and down wheron Silkwormes do feed that it is admirable, but they bear white fruit, therfore the silk is not so well conditiond as is woven by those wormes that feed upon black Mulberry trees; yet the Inhabitants make mighty benefitt herby: The *Vicentins* are a spiritfull people, much given to Letters, as also Armes and Marchandizing, and they are of

extraordinary trust; She hath an Episcopall See annexed to Her, as her neighbour *Verona*; She continued under the Dominion of *Rome* untill *Attila's* incursions, and being destroyd by him She came afterwards under the yoke of the *Goths*, then of the *Longobards*, and afterwards under the Kings of *Italie*; upon their banishment She enjoyd her Liberty under the Empire till *Frederic* the second, by whom She was ravagd and burnt; In this vicissitude of things She had divers Masters, the *Carra-rienses*, the *Patavins*, the *Scaligers* of *Verona*, the *Galeacii* of *Milan*, and the *Venetian*; Then being infested by the armes of *Maximilian* the first, and reduc'd to his obedience, She yeelded her self at last to the Republic of *Venice*, under whom She hath livd in prosperity and security ever since: Not farr from the Cittie ther are two noble Stone-quarreis in the Mountain *Cornolius*, vulgarly calld *Covelo*.

Brixia is a Cittie seated at the foot of a Hill among the *Cenomans*, and was in times passd the head of that people. She hath rich Peasans up and downe, and more gentile than ordinary; She was under the Roman Emperours as long as the Majesty of them continued, which declining, and the *Goths* comitting such devastations in *Italie*, She came under *Radagaso*, who as he made his way to *Rome* did spoyl and burn her 412. She was afterwards re-edified by *Martianus*, then came She under the dition of *Alboinus* King of the *Longobards*, and She remaind under their yoke till *Desiderius* was taken Prisoner by *Charlemain*; The Kingdom of the *Longobards* expiring, She came under the Dominion of the French, who had then the Empire, wherfore ther are som fields about her to this day calld *Francia corta*: Under *Charlemain* *Nacmon* Duke of *Bavaria* governd her, by whom She receavd much instauration and benefitt; After *Charlemains* death She had divers Masters; at last under *Otto* She petitiond to govern her self, promising to be feudetarie and faithfull to the Empire, which granted her; Afterwards She livd free as sundry other Towns in *Italie*, but She was dismantled & deprivd of many immunities by the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, but recovering her self a little after She gave ocasion to *Matthius Scaliger* to invade her in that most pernicious sewd twixt the *Gibelins* and *Guelphins*, under whom She passd all kinds of calamities; *Scaliger* being at last thrust out, *Azzo* Vi-count of *Milan* occupied her; This *Azzo* had *Luchinus* for his Successor, and he had *John* Archbishop of *Milan*, whom *Barnabas* and *Galeacius* succeeded, who were afterwards thrown into Prison by *Galeacius*, who assumd to himself the whole Government, and was created Duke of *Milan* 1402. who left for his Successor *John Maria*: Afterwards *Pandolphus Malatesta* gott to himself the dominion of the Town, but he quickly made a cession of her to *Philip Maria* Duke of *Milan*; five yeers after when *John Maria* had kept the *Brixians* under a hard servitud, nor could not by any petition make him slacken the reins of his rigid government, the Cittie being heated with indignation by the persuasions of som *Guelphian* Agents, She had recours to *Venice*, who shelterd her, freed her from that tyranny, and afterwards She florishd a good while under the Dominion of the Republic, till the yeer 1509. at which time She made a dedition of her self to *Lewie* the 12. of *France*, who passd her over

over to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and he to *Charles* his Nephew King of *Spain*; Then She was tumbled to *Francis* the first King of *France*, till at last She returned under the *Venetian* 1517. Ther is a gentle river runs through the Cittie; She hath many Townes and Villages wherof She is Mistresse, but the worst is that the Mountaines are too neer them, which causeth that they cannot be so fruitfull.

Besides these places upon the Continent of *Italie*, the *Republic* hath Dominions over all the maritim Coasts of *Dalmatia*, and the Ilands therunto belonging: Among others ther be two celebrous Citties, *Zara* and *Cathara*; *Zara* is a place wonderfully well fortified, and hath a very convenient Port, but *Cathara* lieth in the bosom of a nook of the *Adriatic* Sea towards the East; All the Countrey swells up and down with delightfull hills and hillocks which are all manurable, but in regard of the circumambient Mountaines is so oreshadowed that they have not that proportion of light which their Neighbours have.

*Of the Ilands which the Republic of Venice
comands in the Ionian Sea.*

THe first is *Cercyra*, now calld *Corfu*, scarce a mile distant from *Albania's* Continent; She is threescore miles long, 24. in breadth, and in compasse 120. She hath the shape of a Bow bent towards the East; She is mountainous towards the South, and flat towards the North; Her soyl is craggy and destitute of water, so that a South wind oftentimes spoyles their Harvest, therefore do they employ the Earth in planting Vineyards and Olives, with other fruit trees, and what they produce is extraordinarily good in evry kind; In so much that She abounds with Wine, Wax, Honey, Oile, Pomcitrons and divers other fruits; On the North side ther is the Castle of *Saint Angelo* which is notably fortified, so that it hath frustrated the hopes of the Turk in sundry expeditions; Towards the East ther are divers Creeks and Ports with two *Peninsulas*, where upon one of them stands *Pagiopolis*, the other by a little streight is cutt off from the Great Iland: Opposit to these stands *Corfu* at the foot of a hill, with two Castles strongly built by rules of Enginty which in a manner hang over her; wherunto ther is another lately built of very great consequence: Upon the right side of the Citie ther lieth a Promontorie where the famous Fountain *Cardacchio* is; The Port of this Town is a very safe Harbor, and hath shelter sufficient against the fury of any tempest, lett the wind blow which way it will.

The Captains of these Castles upon pain of death without mercy, are neither to meet or converse one with another, or send any Letters, Tickets or any Messages, but the Governor of the Town must be present; and these cautions are usd because those Castles being as it were the Keyes of *Venice* and the Gulph, and consequently of infinit consequence and trust, the Senat wold prevent all occasions that may be imagin'd to betray them: In this Iland of old the Poets do sing that King *Alcinous* raignd, whose plentifull Orchards were so memorizd

by them, insomuch that ever since they are grown to be a proverb for their fertilitie; this *Alcinous* preservd *Ulysses* from Shipwrack, so that the Poets make often mention of him, one instance shall be,

*Quid bisera Alcinoi referam Pomaria? Vosque
Qui nunquam vacui prodisti in aethera rami?*

Of Cephalonia.

C*ephalonia* is of a triangular form, and hath in circumference 160. miles; She hath many Stations for Shippes, among whom *Argostolica* is the chiefeſt, and capable to hold any Fleet within her Boſom: Ther is another that lieth behind a Promontory calld *Guiſcardo*, wher ther yet remain many ruines of Caſtles, Palaces and other Edifices; and ther are daylie diggd out of the Earth many old Coines, with other Monuments of Antiquity. This Iland produceth a good proportion of Wheat and Oil, and She is well ſtord with Sheep; She hath alſo plenty of Hony, of Manna and Rayſins of the Sun, but She wants a ſufficient competency of Water; Ther is a white Muſcadell Grape that growes which perfumes the breath after it is eaten, and that Wine which is made therof is accounted the delicatſt ſort of Greek Wines, though it make the brain clowdy if one drinks above two cupps; but by reaſon of the over delicatnes therof it cannot brook the Sea any long time, but it will prick, and loſe both taſt and colour. This Iland may have about 10000. Soules men and women in her; This Iland is computed to have 100. Townes of all ſorts, beſides thoſe two before mentiſond, *Nello* is the chiefeſt. She was firſt calld *Melena*, then *Teleboas*, whoſe King *Prerelaus* was killd in battail by *Amphytrion* a Theban Captain, wherby the Ile came to be ſubject to *Thebes*: During the ſtay of *Amphytrion* two accidents happend in *Greece*, the firſt was, that *Jupiter* gott his Wiſe *Alcmena* with child of *Hercules*; the ſecond was, that *Cephalonia* a Nobleman of *Athens* being a hunting killd his Wiſe *Procris* with an Arrow inſteed of his prey, wherupon he fledd to *Amphytrion*, who was newly victorious ore the *Teleboas*, who reſenting his caſe made him Governor of this Iland, calld ever ſince *Cephalonia* after his name.

Of Zucinthus or the Ile of Zant.

Z*ant* comes next to be ſurveyd, which hath about 60. miles in circumgyration; towards the Eaſt She is mountanous and rough, but ſmooth and even towards the North; She is more ſubject to Earthquakes than other places; Her wealth conſiſts in Oil, Wine and Rayſins, wherby the Inhabitants ſuſiſt; but She wants Corn becauſe all the Earth is turnd to Vineyards; She hath a Town which beares the ſame name with the Iland, with a ſtrong Caſtle, and about 47. Villages. The Engliſh Nation hath much improv'd the wealth of this Iland ſince they

they traded for *Curran*s thither, wherof the English spend more than all other people; At first the people of the Ile seeing the English buy so much *Curran*s, asked them *Whether they used to dye Clothes, or fatten Hoggs with them*, for those two uses they only make there of them.

Of Crete or Candie.

Crete, now calld *Candie*, is one of the most noble Ilands of the *Mediterranean* Sea; She hath 270. in length, and 50. in latitud; Her situation is so oportune, that *Aristotle* affirmed She was so situated that Natur her self intended her to be Mistresse of the Sea; She is but a few dayes sayl, not 100. distant both from *Syria* and *Egypt*, being equally remote from both; from *Caramania*, *Cyprus* and *Albania* She is 300. miles distant; Her Coasts are fretted out into divers Creeks and Promontories, the principall wherof are *Capo Spada*, and *Capo Salmone*, wherof the one looks Westward, the other Eastward, but in the midst betwixt both *Drepano* rayseth up himself which is now calld *Capo Melecca*, and the Promontory *Zephyrium* which is now calld *Alcelico*; That part of the Ile which beholds the Sun rising lyeth high and is not so fruitfull. Among the rest of the Hills wherwith this gentle Iland swells up and down, Mount *Ida* stands. This Iland was calld in old time *Hecatompolis* or *Cent oppidum*, having 100. Citties in her, but now She hath not three of any moment, and they are towards the North. The chiefeest is *Candia* (formerly calld *Candida* or *Candace*) which hath about 100000. Souls; *Canea* is the second (formerly calld *Cydonia* or *Gnafos*) which hath 7000. Soules in her, and *Rhetino* which hath so many more; Besides these ther is another calld *Scythia*, a Town of 600. tyres; the rest are Villages and Dorps to the number of 90. wherin by the last cense that was made ther are 200000. Souls or therabouts; But up and down evry where ther are Ruines Marks and Monuments of Antiquity, and of other old Townes; That part which looks towards the South is infested ever and anon with Northern blasts. The secundity of the Iland consists in pasturage, and Valleys wherin ther are great numbers of Cattle feeding, and on her Plaines ther is good store of Corn growes, but not a competent quantity for the whole Iland; She abounds with rare Wines famous all the Earth over; Ther is great store of Hony had there, which is carried most comonly to *Alexandria*; Ther is no place in the World wher ther be such high and goodly Cypresses; She hath but small Rivers; This Iland sympathiseth in one qualitie with *Ireland*, for She produceth no venomous Beast; She abounds with a luscious Wine calld *Muskadell*, wherof the English Marchants have brought som yeers into *England* above 12000. Butts, together with Sugar-Candie, Gumms, Hony, Sugar, Olives, Dates, Apples, Oranges, Lemmons, Citrons, Pomgranatts. It is a little wanton luxurious Iland, which it seemes hath corrupted the nature of the Inhabitants, insomuch that the old Poet *Epimenides*, whose Verse is cited by Saint *Paul*, gives this ill-favoured Character of them,

Κέρει δὲ Πύρρει, καὶα βούα, γαστρίσιν ἀγυαί.

which comes very happilie into Latin verbatim,

Cres semper mendax, mala bestia, venter obesus.

The Candiotts are allways lyers, ill beasts and slow bellies.

By reason of the situation of the Iland, being seated in the midst of the *Mediterranean Sea*, the Inhabitants came to be excellent Seamen, so that it grew to be a proverb, when one wold thwart an improbable thing, he would say you will make me beleieve as soon that *Cretensis nescit pelagus*, the Candiot is no Seaman. Though ther be no venomous Creatures in this Iland, yet they say Womens teeth are more poysonous there than elsewhere, for if a woman bite a man any thing deep he will never recover: Besides they write that in this Ile an herb grows calld *Allimos*, which if one chaw in his mouth, he shall feel no hunger; The *Republic* came to this Iland by her money, for She bought her of the Prince of *Monferrat Anno 1194*. But of late yeers, though the *Spaniard* offerd as much for the Haven of *Sada* it self as She payed at first for the whole Iland, the *Republic* would not listen unto the motion.

Of the Cittie of Venice Her-self.

WE are com now to the *Mayden Cittie* her-self, to that *Miracle of Nature*, to *Neptune's Minion*, to that *Impossibile nel impossibile*, for it was the Character which that famous *Mariano Sozzino* gave of Her, when at his return from *Venice* to *Rome* he gave an account of his Embassie to the *Pope*, when he went back *dalle scale del Senato, alla sede Apostolica*, from the *Scales of Venice* to the *Seat of Rome*, for those are the stiles of distinction betwixt both the Courts; as *Constantinople* is calld the *Port*, the King of *Spains* Court the *Palace*, the Emperours *la Corte* the Court simply and κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or *per Eminentiam*.

This *Wonder of Citties* is seated in the bosom or betwixt the armes and æstuaries of the *Adriatic Sea*, who spreading himself gently along towards the Continent of *Italie*, leaves som green tuffs or tombs of Earth uncoverd, upon which the *Cittie* is built, and as it were chaind together by I know not how many hundred Bridges; Insomuch that *Venice* is no other than a Convention of little Ilands peeping up above the Waters, which may be an excuse for her *salacity*, having such a *salt* tayle steepd and brind perpetually in the *Sea*: In so much that it may be well thought that the Goddesse *Venus* and the *Cittie of Venice* had one kind of procreation being both engendred of the *Sea*; It is allso very likely *Aphrodite* that wanton Lady had her Original out of that white Spume which *Neptune* casts upon those little gentle Ilands wheron *Venice* makes her bed.

The occasion that made these watry Iles a mansion for men, was, when that Northern deluge of *Goths, Vandalls, Hunns* and *Longobards* did overflow all *Italie*, which made people of all sorts fly to these Lakes to avoyd the Land torrent that was like to swallow them up; and finding the air to be gentle and fitt for habitation and propagation, and the clime more

more temperat than in other places, though sited under the same latitud, by reason of the fresh breezes and ventilations of the circumjacent Sea; which makes it lye ope to all winds, and evry point of the Compas; They pitchd their Tents upon these Iles, and associated them by conjoyning Bridges; Inviting all peeple to com and cohabit with them, In so much that som derive the name of *Venetia* from the word *Venite, Venite*, (or *Veni etiam*, com again) by which they invited them of the *Continent* to dwell with them, and fix their Commoration there. They are therfore much deceavd who think that the *Gentry* of *Venice* are of a baser allay than others, taking them to be no other than Fishermen at first; No, they were of the best rank of peeple, that to avoyd the inundation of those barbarous peeple fledd thither from *Rome, Aquileia, Padua, Heraclea* and all other places for a secure rendezvous, being frindly invited therunto, which makes the Cittie of *Venice* to be the most hospitable place upon Earth to this day for all Commers.

Now, the first *Venetians* had not their beginning from *Italie*, but were issued of an ancient race of peeple in *Asia* calld the *Hewetians* of *Paphlagonia*, who after the destruction of *Troy* came under the conduct of *Antenor* to *Italie*, whose Tomb is to be seen standing in *Padua* to this day.

Now the Original of the Cittie of *Venice*, according to the opinion of the most judicious Historians, hapned in this manner. As the fear of the *Hunnes* had possessd most of the Inhabitants of *Italie*, and that the *Venetians* as formost in the danger were more apprehensive therof than any other, therfore for their owne incolumity and freedom, and being neerest than any other, they retir'd from about those plesant places which borderd upon the *Adriatic* Sea into these small Iles or Lakes whither the Enemy could not pursue them; And those who were the first Leaders were rich and honorable Persons, full of Piety and Religion, specially those of *Aquileia, Padua, and Heraclea*, who with their substance and families came first to *Grada*, and thence to the *Rialto*; Those places wheron at this day the Cittie of *Venice* is seated being then but bare Iles and Mansions for Fish, as many parts of *Holland* was: Now, those of *Padua* were they that began to build at the *Rialto* where the first foundation was layed, and is now as it were the Center of the Cittie; How religiously the same was don may be conjecturd, because by how much the more one did affect Christianity, so much more he shunnd the conversation of the barbarous peeple. The Temple of God was the first House that was in intencion, though not in execution, because it was a work of time, wherof the first Stone was layed in Saint *Marks* Place the 25. of *March*, about the Vernall Equinoctiall in the beginning of the Spring; which may be sayed to be a good cause why the Cittie florishd so wonderfully ever since, for about the same time the first *Man* receavd his *Creation*, and the *Redeemer* of *Mankind* his *Conception*.

Now allbeit for populating this new Cittie all the most experienced Mariners were calld from all parts, with promise of reward to such as could build Shippes, yet as the old Records have it, they were carefull not to admitt any man of a servile condition, or any Murtherer or Fugitives

gitifs for offences; with such sorts of men we find that *Rome* was first populated.

The new Cittie did daylie encrease in Inhabitants and building, when a fyre kindled upon a sudden and burnt 24. Houses; and because the matter which fedd the fyre was scatterd here and there, and so could not be quenched by humane strength, all the peeple betook themselves to their prayers, and, as the Record hath it, so soon as they had made a vow to erect a Church to the honor of God, calld Saint *James* Church, the fury of the fyre ceased; This Church is to be seen standing to this day in good repair in the midst of the *Rialto*, and this was about the year 400. At first they were governd by *Consuls*, then came they under a *Tribunary* power, then under a Prince or *Duke* because ther is a greater energie of love and power in unity; yet this Duke is but a kind of Colleague with som others of the Senators, and differs only from them in the rising corner of his Capp; When he goes abroad in State the Sword is carried *behind him*, but *before* the *Senat* who com after him, and he is so restrained that 'tis impossible for him to be a Tyrant.

Ther have bin since the beginning of this Principality neer upon 100. Dukes, wherof 12. have bin either *slain* or sentenced; Ther is *choice* and *chance* that concurr in his creation; Now as *Senatus ex Populo*, so *Princeps à Senatu oritur*, and commonly one of the *Procurators* of Saint *Mark* is chosen; As the *Popes*, so the *Princes of Venice* are made of ancient men, who have passd through divers Offices, and so have bin long bredd up in the School of Experience, which is that *great Looking-glasse of Wisedom*; Persons that have their humors daunted, and their passions mortified in them. *Contarenius* describes the election of the Duke in this maner; Presently upon the vacancy, all the Gentry above 30. do assemble. So many as meet cast their names into a Pott, and in another are just so many Balls, wherof 30. only are gilt, then a Child draweth for each, till the 30. gilt ones be drawn, for which 30. the Child draweth again a second time out of another Pott that hath only 9. gilt Balls; The 9. so drawn nominat 40. out of which 40, 12. are again selected by the same kind of lott; These 12. nominat 25. out of whom 9. are by lott sett again apart; These 9. nominat 45. who are by lott reduced again to 11. These 11. choose 41. of the *Senat* of the best and principall rank; These 41. after evry one hath tied himself by solemn Oath to choose whom they shall think most worthy, write in Scrolls whom they think most worthy; the Scrolls are mingled together and then drawn, the fittnes of the Persons thus drawn is discussd, and he who hath most voices above 25. is the Man whom they pronounce to be elected, and adjudg him to be created Duke with all Solemnities; by lott allso they choose Gentlemen to sitt in the *Senat*, and creat public Officers, so that this *Republic* hath much of the modell of *Platoes* platform.

Som derive the Etimologie of this rare Cittie from *Venetia*, which in old Latin signifieth the frothing or seething of the Sea, for as *Varro* hath it, *Venetia est maris exastuatio qua ad littus pellitur*: Ther are 72. Isles that support *Venice*, and the nearest part of the Continent is 5. miles distant; Ther be Banks and Dikes cast up to preserve her from the impetuoufnes

impetuouſnes of the waves extending in length above 6. miles, through which ther are 7. places broken out for passages of Boats, but no way for Veffells of bigger burden ſaving at *Malamocca*, which is 3. miles diſtant from the main Cittie, and at the Caſtles of *Lio*, which are fortified according to the utmoſt art of Enginry; So that tis impoſſible to ſurprize *Venice*, or to take Her, unleſſe it be by an Army of 150. miles compaſſe; She is above 8. miles in circuit, and hath of all ſorts neer upon 1000. Bridges; Beſides, ther be above 20000. Gondolaes which ply up and down perpetually, ſom wherof have two rowers, ſom more; ſo that in caſe of neceſſity the Cittie could make an Army of above 50000. Gondoliers.

Her Fabriques public and privat are extraordinary ſpecious and ſumptuous, and Her Streets ſo neat and cevenly pavd, that in the dead of Winter one may walk up and down in a pair of Sattin Pantables and Crimſon Silk Stockins and not be dirtied: Ther are above 200. Palaces ſitt to receave any Prince with his ordinary retinue; In fine, Her ſituation is ſo rare, evry ſtreet almoſt having an arm of the Sea running through it, and Her Structures ſo magnificent and neat, that this *Virgin* Cittie uſeth to raviſh at firſt ſight all Strangers that come to viſit Her, ſpecially if they com from Sea, and not paſſd through others of the dainty Townes of *Italie*.

Venice, beſides Her 150 Churches and Monafteries, hath three things worthy of ſight, *viſ.* Saint Marks Church and Steeple, the *Treſury*, and the *Arsenal*.

The Church is built throughout with rare Moſaique work, and the furniture of the Church ſurpaſſeth the Fabrique in richnes; Her Walls are inlayed in many places with precious Stones of divers colours, and in ſuch a maner that they ſeem to be the work of Nature rather than of Art; but the full deſcription of this Temple ſhall be reſervd for another place, *viſ.* for that time that Saint Marks body was firſt transported from *Alexandria* to *Venice*, which will appeer in the Hiſtoricall part as I ſhall run over the Lives of the Dukes.

The *Arsenal* of *Venice* is one of the greateſt Magazins of armes in all the World; It is 3. miles in compas, of which circuit the Turks *Seraglio* is thought to be; ther are above 300. Artificers perpetually at work, who make or repair all things belonging therunto; when theſe grow impotent through age, yet have they a Salary from Saint Mark as long as they live. This *Arsenal* hath armes to furniſh 200000. men and upwards, and hath conſtantly belonging to it 200. Gallies in dock or abroad in courſe, beſides Her Galeaſſes and Galeons, with all proviſions neceſſary for them: When Henry the third paſſd from *Poland* to *France* by *Venice*, he went to ſee this *Arsenal*, and in leſſe than two howers ther was a new Gallie made in his preſence, and launchd; He ſo admired the place, that he ſayed he wold be willing to exchange three of his beſt Townes in *France*, except *Paris*, for the *Arsenal* of *Venice*; Here is commonly kept that ancient and admired Veffell calld the *Bucentoro*, built above 500. yeers ſince, yet is ſhe freſh and bewtifull; in this the Prince is rowed evry *Aſcenſion-day* in wonderfull great State to the Sea, being accompanied by the Senat and Ambaſſadors, and throwing a gold Ring into the water

he espouseth the Sea to the Cittie once evry yeer: which rare priviledg Pope *Alexander* endowed the Cittie withall, as an argument of his gratitud to Her for preserving him from the fury of the Emperour *Frederic Barbarossa*, for taking *Otto* his Son Prisoner in his quarrell, and for restoring him to Saint *Peters* Chaire again when he was fledd from *Rome* to *Venice* for shelter; He allso gave the *Republic* a priviledg to *seal with lead* the same time, and made Her Lady of all the *Adriatic* Gulph which extends above 700. miles. This *Bucentoro* is the self-same Vessell wherein Pope *Alexander* performd this Ceremony of marrying *Venice* to the Sea many hundred yeers agoe, and She is still usd to fetch in Ambassadors and Forren Princes when they come to visitt the Cittie; but though She be still taken for the same Shipp, yet I beleeve ther is little of the first Materialls remaining in Her, She hath bin so often trimmd, putt upon the Carine, and metamorphosd. The sight of this Shipp when I was there, made me think on *Tesens* famous Shipp (as I have it elswhere) Nay, it made me fall upon an abstracted notion of Philosophy, and a speculation touching the body of man, which being in a continuall flux, and succession of decay, and consequently requiring ever and anon a restauration of what it loseth of the vertu of the former nutriment, and of what was digested after the third concoction into bloud and fleshy substance, which, as in all other sublunary bodies that have internall principles of heat in them, useth to transpire, breath out and wast away through invisible pores by exercise, motion and sleep, to make room still for a supply of new nouriture; I fell, I say, to consider whether our bodies may be sayed to be of the like condition with this *Bucentoro*, which though it be still reputed the same Vessell, yet I beleieve ther's very little of the first Timber remaining in Her which She had in Her first dock, having bin, as they told me, so often plankd, and ribd, caukd, peecd and gilt: In like maner I considerd our bodies may be sayed to be daylie repaired by fresh sustenance which begets new bloud, and consequently new spirits, new humors, and I may well say new flesh, the old by continuall deperdition and insensible transpirations evaporating still out of us, and giving way to fresh; so that I made a question whether by reason of these perpetuall reparations and accretions the body of man may be sayed to be the same numericall body in his old age that he had in his manhood, or the same in his manhood that he had in his youth, the same in his youth that he carried about him in his childhood, or the same in his childhood which he woare in his mothers womb; this was the theory which the sight of that *amphibious* old yet fresh *Venetian* peece of wood infusd into me at that time. This rare Vessell is calld *Bucentoro* as som think of *bis centum*, because She holds 200. persons in Her besides the Rowers, who are more; She is richly gilt over from Stemm to Stern having but one room in all, which is archwise; The Arches on both sides are supported with golden Pillers, except where the Duke sits at the upper end, and hard by Him lies *Venice* Her-self mounted upon a winged Lion, rowed by 21. Oares on both sides, and 5. men to evry Oar.

Besides the Church and Steeple of Saint *Mark* ther is the *Piazza* of Saint *Mark*, which is the fairest, and the most spacious Markett place of

of all the Townes of *Italia*, and beares the form of a Greek r. Here one shall see daylie walking and negotiating all sorts of Nations, not only *Europeans*, but *Arabians*, *Moors*, *Turks*, *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Tabrobanes*, *Tartars*, *Americans*, *Asians*, *Brasilians*, &c. of which place these ingenious Verses were composd by one who was astonishd with the bewtie of it:

*Si placeat varios hominum cognoscere vultus,
Area longa patet Sancto contermina Marco,
Celsus ubi Adriacas Venetus Leo despicit undas,
Hic circum Gentes cunctis è partibus Orbis,
Æthiopes, Turcos, Slavos, Arabesque, Syrosque,
Inveniesque Cypri, Creta, Macedumque Colonos,
Innumerosque alios varia Regione profectos;
Sape etiam nec visa prius, nec cognita cernes,
Qua si cuncta velim tenui describere versu,
Heic omnes citius nantas, celerisque phaselos,
Et simul Adriaci pisces numerabo profundi.*

Now, we will enter into the Treasury of Saint *Mark*, which is so much cryed up throughout the world, that it is com to be a proverb when one wold make a comparison of riches: In this Treasury they say ther is enough to pay 6. Kings ransoms, ther are Jewells of all sorts of incredible greatnes and value, Diamonds, Rubies, Saphyres, Emeralds, Cupps of Agat of a huge bignes, the great Diamond which *Henry* the third gave the Republic when he was made Gentleman of *Venice*; Ther you may see an Armour all of massie Gold, and besett all over with large pearl, Turkies, Rubies, and all maner of precious Stones in such a quantity and bignes as they alone wold be enough to make a Trefure; Ther are allso 12. Corsetts of Gold besett with precious Stones; Ther is a huge Gold Chain that reacheth from piller to piller; divers Chests of Gold, among others ther is one great Iron Chest with this Motto engraven upon it, *Quando questo scrinio s'aprirà, tutto'l mondo tremera*, When this Chest shall open, the whole Earth shall tremble: Ther are allso there to be seen two large Hornes which are Unicorns; a great Bottle made of a Chalcedonian Stone transparent and cleer, and so bigg that it will hold above a quart; Ther is allso a Garnett of a vast greatnes, formd into the shape of a Kettle that will hold neer upon a Gallon; Ther are divers Crosses and Crucifixes of pure massie Gold, besett with Jewells of all sorts; Ther are allso to be seen there the Crowns of *Cyprus* and *Candie*, as allso that of the Dukes of *Venice*, all inlayed with such choice rich Diamonds, great Rubies, Emeralds, Saphyres and other Stones that wold begett an astonishment in the Beholders eye; In that of the Dukes ther is one great Ruby that beares 100000. Crownes value; Ther are Cupps of sundry formes cutt out of rich Stones, with Dishes of sundry kinds; Ther are allso to be seen there divers Presses of Plate, huge and massie, with Statues of Sylver, and large Chalices of Gold, with variety of other rich objects that no eye is capable to judg therof; Ther are allso 12. Crownes more of massie Gold which were taken at the sacking of

Constantinople when the French and the Venetian divided the spoyes. Ther was a bold and cunning Candiot attempted the robbing of this Trefury, And

— *quid non mortalia pectora cogit*
Auri sacra fames?

This Candiot lay skulking in Saint Marks Church divers nights, untill he had wrought a mine under the wall behind an Altar, and so gott in to the Trefury, whence he had embezeld divers rich Jewells to the value of about 200000. Crownes, but he was detected, and hangd twixt the two Columnes; This Trefury may be calld the great Arterie of the Republic, The Chests have bin often exhausted, and supplied again; In the Warrs with *Lewis* the twelfth of *France* ther were 5. millions spent in a short time; In tugging with *Genoa*, who was then a large potent Republic, She spent from time to time above 100. millions, and against the great Turk incredible sommes; The Duke of *Offuna* when he was Viceroy of *Naples*, pickd a quarrell of purpose with Her to make Her spend Her self; He cauld a Book to be publishd in disparagement of this Trefury, calling it, *Tesoro de duendes*, the Trefury of Fayries or Hobgoblins; And evry one knowes the tale of *Pacheco* the Spanish Ambassador, who coming out of curiosiry to see this Trefury, fell a groping whether it had any bottom, and being askd why? he answerd, *In this among other things my great Masters Tresures differs from yours, that his hath no bottom as yours I find hath*, alluding therby to the Mines of *Mexico* and *Potosi*.

Among other little gentile Ilands which attend the Cittie of *Venice*, ther is one calld *Murano*, about the distance of a little mile, where Crystall Glasses are made; and tis a rare sight to see a whole Street where on the one side ther are above twenty Furnaces at work perpetually both day and night; It hath bin observd and tryed, that if one shold remove a Furnace from *Murano* to *Venice* Her-self, nay to the other side of the Street, and use the same men, materialls and fuell, and the same kind of Furnace evry way, yet one cannot be able to make Cristall Glasse in the same perfection for bewty and lustre as they do at *Murano*; And the cause they alledg is the qualitie and cleernes of the circumambient air which hangs ore the place, and favoureth the manufacture, which air is purified and attenuated by the concurrent heats of so many furnaces together which never extinguish, but are like the Vestall syres that allwayes burn; Now it is well known in other places, what qualifying and extraordinary impressions the air useth to make, as particularly tis observd in the Air of *Egypt* where they use to have so many common Furnaces to hatch Eggs in Camells dung, if, during the time of hatching the air happen to be orecaft and obnubilated, not one Egg in twenty will take; but if the Skie continue still serene and cleer, not one in a hundred will miscarry. The art of Glassmaking is very highly valued in *Venice*, for whosoever comes to be a Master of that profession is reputed a Gentleman *ipsa arte*, for the art sake; and it is not without reason, it being a rare kind of knowledg and Chymistry to transmute the dull bodies of dust and sand, for they are the only main ingredients,

to such a diaphanous pellucid dainty body, as we see Cristall Glasse is, which hath this property above Gold and Silver, or any other Mineral, to endure no poyson; Glasse also hath this rare qualitie, that it never loseth any thing of its first substance and weight, though usd never so frequently, and so long: It is wonderfull to see what diversitie of shapes and strange formes those curious Artifts will make in Glasse, as I saw a complete Gallie, with all her Mafts, Sayles, Cables, Tackling, Prore, Poope, Forecastle, Anchors, with her long Boat, all made out in Cristall Glasse, as also a Man compleat in armor.

When I saw so many sorts of curious Glasses blown at *Murano*, I thought upon the complement which a Gentleman put upon a Lady, who having five or six comly Daughters, sayd by way of complacency, that he never saw such a dainty Cupboard of Cristall Glasses in all his life. As I stood prying into the materialls, and observ'd the frame of their Furnaces, the transubstantiations, the calcinings and liquefactions that are incident to this fyerie art, my thoughts were rayfed up to a higher speculation, *viz.* That if such a small Furnace fyre had vertu to convert lumps of dust and sand crumbled together into such a transparent body as Cristall, surely that great Universall Fyre which shall happen at the Day of Judgment, may by its fervor and violent ardor vitrifie and turn to one masse of Cristall the whole body of the Earth. They have a saying there, that the first hansom Woman was made of *Venice* Glasse, which implies beuty, but brittlenes withall, and *Venice* is not unfurnishd with Cretures of that mould; Her Courtisans love variety, and this makes them so fond of Strangers; They go allwayes vayld in black, wheras Wives and Women of honor go in colours and unvayld; They are low and of small statures for the most part, which makes them to rayse their bodies upon high shooes calld *Chapins*, which gave one occasion to say that the Venetian Ladies were made of three things, one part of them was Wood, meaning their Chapins, another part was their Apparrell, and the third part was a Woman; The Senat hath often endeavourd to take away the wearing of those high Shooes, but all women are so passionately delighted with this kind of state that no Law can weane them from it: A Story runns of a strange Gentleman, who being extremely enamord with one of them bargaind for a nights lodging for so many Crownes, but in the morning finding her so low and little from what she had appeerd the day before he wold pay her but the one half of what he had contracted, in regard she was but half the Woman that had bargaind with him formerly. Among other peculiar Lawes in *Venice* ther is one that limitts the Dowries of Women, for lest the Patricians or Gentlemen shold exhaust their estate, and not be able to live like themselves, they restrain the Dowry to 16000. Crownes, so that no Senator or Nobleman may give more with his Daughter; but a Plebeian marrying his Daughter to a Gentleman may give 20000. Crownes.

The Trade of the Cittie of *Venice* hath bin somewhat declining since the *Portugais* found out the carreer to the East Indies by the *Cape of Good Hope*, for this Cittie was usd to fetch all those Spices, and other Indian Commodities from the *Gran Cayro* in *Egypt*, whither they usd to
be

be carried upon Camells backs, and convoyes of Dromedaries threescore dayes journey; And so *Venice* usd to dispencc all kind of Indian Marchandises through the Countreys of Christendom, which not only the *Portugais*, but the *English* and *Hollander* use now to transport, and may be sayd to be the chief Masters of the trade, yet ther is no outward appearance of poverty, or any kind of decay in this soft effeminar City, but she is still fresh and flourishing, abounding with all kind of comerce, and flowing with all bravery and delight, all which may be had at cheap rates; which made those that could not tell how to use the pleasures of *Venice* aright, to give out this saying of Her

*Venetia, Venetia chi non te vede non Te pregia,
Mà, chi t'ha troppo veduto te despregia,*

In *English* thus rendred:

Venice, Venice, none Thee unseen can prize,
Who hath seen thee too much, will Thee despise.

They speak of an old prophecie, That *Venice* shall continue a *Virgin* untill her Husband forsakes her, meaning the *Sea*, to whom Pope *Alexander* married her long since, and the Nuptialls are confirmd and solemnly revivd evry yeer; Now som observe that the *Sea* in som places doth not love her so deeply as he did, for he begins to shrink and grow shallower in som places about her, nor are her tides so high; Nor doth the Pope who was the Father that gave her to the *Sea* affect her as much as formerly he did, specially since the expulsion of the *Jesuits*, and that She sell a clipping the Temporall possessions of the Clergie, as shall be shown, which make som of her Emulators bode her downfall, since that Father and Husband begin to abandon Her.

In that notable League of *Cambray* Pope *Julius* incited all Christendom against her, so that her Maydenhead was never more likely to be taken than at that time, but by her extraordinary submission She charmd the Pope by her 6. Senators whom She sent disguisd to *Rome*, and allso by that humble Embassie She sent to *Maximilian* the Emperour by *Antonio Justiniano*, whose notable Oration was this that followeth, though it be not to be found among her Records.

Veteres Philosophos, atque summos illis temporibus Viros, Inviētissime *Cesar*, cum eam gloriam qua ex sui ipsius victoria comparatur, veram, firmam, eternam, immortalēque esse affirmarunt; eamque supra omnia regna, trophæa atque triumphos extulerunt minimè errasse manifestum, certūque est; Hac *Scipioni* Majori tot victoriis claro majorem splendorem quàm *Africa* devicta, & *Carthago* domita dedit: Nonne hac eadem res magnum illum *Macedonem* immortalitate donavit? cum *Darius* maximo pralio ab eo victus Deos immortales ut regnum suum stabilirens precatu est, quod si secus statuissent se non alium Successorem quàm tam benignum hostem, tam mansuetum ab illis petere: *Cesar* ille Dictator à quo *Casaris* cognomentum habes, & ejus fortunam, libertatem, magnificentiam aliàsque virtutes obtines, nonne concedendo, remittendo, condonando qui in Deorum

numerum

numerum referretur dignus est iudicatus? Denique Senatus populusque Romanus ille mundi domitor cuius imperium in Te solo est, cuiusque amplitudo & Majestas in Te conspicitur, nonne plures populos ac provincias clementia, aqutate & mansuetudine quam bello armisque imperio suo subiecit? Quae cum ita sint minimè inter postremas laudes id tibi ascribetur, Caesar, si cum victoriam adversus Venetos in potestate tua habeas, quam humana res Caduca sint memor, ea moderatè uti noveris, magis ad pacis studia, quam incertos belli eventus propensus; Quanta enim rerum humanarum inconstantia sit, quam incerti casus, quam dubius, fallax, varius periculisque obnoxius sit mortalium status externus, priscisque exemplis ostendere non est opus, satis superque Respublica Veneta docet, qua paulò ante florens, splendens, clara, atque ita potens erat, ut ejus nomen & fama, non Europa finibus terminaretur, sed egregia pompa Africam, Asiámque percurreret, atque in extremis Orbis terrarum finibus magno cum plausu resonaret; Hac eadem nunc unico eoque levi adverso pralio rerum gestarum gloria orbata, opibus spoliata, lacerata, conculcata atque eversa, omnium rerum ac praesertim Consilii egens ita corruiit ut omnis pristina virtutis imago consenuerit, omnisque armorum ardor defferbuerit; Sed falluntur, falluntur proculdubio Galli si hac propria virtuti tribuunt; Antehac enim Veneti gravioribus incommodis agitati, maximis detrimentis cladibusque perculsi atque attriti, nunquam animum abiecerunt, ne tum quidem cum ingenti periculo cum sevisimo Turcarum Tyranno multos annos bella gesserunt, imò semper ex victis Victores facti sunt; Idem & nunc sperassent nisi Majestatis tua tremendo nomine, copiarumque tuarum vivida invictaque virtute audita, ita omnium animi concidissent, ut nulla non modò vincendi, sed ne obfistendi quidem spes relicta sit; Quocirca armis abjectis in Majestatis tuae incredibili clementia, vel potius divina pietate spem omnem locavimus, quam nos nostris rebus perditis inventuros minimè diffidimus: Itaque Principis, Senatus, Populusque Veneti nomine humili devotione supplices oramus, obtestamur, atque obsecramus, ut clementia tua oculis res nostras afflictas aspicere digneris, iisque salutarem medicinam afferre, omnes pacis leges, quas tu nobis imposueris amplectemur, omnes, justas, honestas & ab aqutate rationeq; minimè alienas ducemus; Sed forsán qui nobis ipsis multam imponamus, digni sumus: Ad te verum & legitimum Principem omnia quacunque Majores nostri Sacro Imperio & Austria Ducatui ademerunt, redeunt, quibus ut decentius veniant omnia quacunque in Continente possidemus adjungimus quarum rerum juribus quocunque modo partis cedimus; Præterea, quotannis tuae Majestati & legitimis Imperii Successoribus in perpetuum quingenta auri pondo tributi nomine pendemus, imperiis, decretis, legibus, præceptisque tuis libenter obtemperabimus. Defende nos quaso ab illorum cum quibus paulo ante arma nostra conjunximus insolentia, quos nunc savissimos hostes experimur, qui nihil aliud expetunt quam Veneti nominis interitum; Tua ista clementia conservata Te Urbis nostra Parentem, Genitorem, Condito remq; appellabimus, Ingentia tua beneficia in Annales referemus, liberis nostris perpetuò memorabimus; Nec verò parva hac erit ad laudes tuas accessio Te primum esse ad cuius pedes Veneta Respublica supplex se humi prosterнат, cui cervices supponat, quem velut Deum cælo delapsum colat, revereatur, observet: Si Deus optimus maximus eam

mentem Majoribus nostris dedisset, ut Res aliorum non attingere non studissent, jam nostra Respublica gloria plena reliquas Europa civitates longè superarat, qua nunc in squalore, sordibus & satore languescens, ignominia, probroq; deformis ludibrio atque contumelia referta unico momento omnium victoriarum laudem amisit; Sed ut nunc incepit eò mea revertatur Oratio, in tua potestate est, Caesar, Venetis tuis ignoscendo & condonando nomen laudemq; comparare qua nemo unquam Vincendo majorem splendidioremque adeptus est; Hoc monumentum nulla vetustas, nulla antiquitas, nullus temporis cursus & memoria hominum delebit, sed omnia secula Te pium, clementem, omnium principum gloriosissimum predicabunt, consuebuntur: Nos tui Veniti quod vivimus, quod auras cælestes carpinus, quod hominum commercio fruimur id omne tua virtuti, felicitati, clementiaeque tribuimus.

Though this pittifull Speech be not to be found among the *Records* of this *Republic*, yet it is kept to this day in the *Archives* of the *Empire*, and because it is so remarkable a one we hold it not amisse to render it in English.

Most invincible Emperour, the ancient Philosophers, and the great Men of their times did not err in their opinions when they esteemd that glorie which one gaires by a Conquest over himself to be the truest, the most firm, and best of victories, and to exceed all other acquests, achievements, trophyes and triumphs; This pourchasd *Scipio Major* more honor, and made him more illustrious than by debelling of *Afric*, and daunting the proud Cittie of *Carthage*: Did not the same kind of victorie make that great *Macedonian* immortall, when King *Darius* being discomfited by him prayed the Immortall Gods that they wold establish his Kingdom, which if they pleasd to ordain otherwise he desird no better Successor than so mild an Enemy, and gentle a Conqueror. That *Caesar* the Dictator, from whom you have your surname, and whose fortune, liberality, magnificence and other high virtues you inherit, was not he judgd worthy to be placd among the Gods for his clemency, concessions, gentlenes and mercy? Lastly, the Senat and peeple of *Rome* who were the tamers of the World, whose Empire is now soly in you, and whose amplitude and Majesty doth so shine in you, did not they reduce more Nations to their obedience by their justice, equity and mansuetude than by warr and arms? Since this is a know truth, O *Caesar*, it will not be the least of your glories, since that you have the victorie ore the *Venetians* now in your hands and power, to call to mind how frayl all humane things are, and consequently to use your victory with moderation, and to incline more to the study of peace, than the doubtfull events of warr; for how inconstant all mundane affaires are, how casual, various, false and flattering, how obnoxious the state of Mortalls is to hazard and danger, I shall not need to illustrat either by new or old examples; The *Venetian Commonwealth* shewes it sufficiently, which being a little while agoe flourishing and splendid, illustrious and renowned, and so powerfull that her name and renown was not contented to be bounded within the precincts of *Europe* only, but it passd over to *Afric* and *Asia*,
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and rebounded with no ordinary applause in the extremest parts of the World : This, this Republic is now by one and that but a slight battail deprivd of the glory of all her Tropheys, She is bereft of her wealth, torn as it were in peeces and trampled upon, daunted and overcome, being destitut of all things specially of Councel, so that the image of her former virtues are faded and almost utterly defacd, and her wonted heat in arms quite allayed. For in former times the *Venetians* being oppressed with greater calamities, and harassd with worse miseries, ill successes and misfortunes, yet they never lost their spirits, no not then when with infinite losses, dangers and hazards they bore up for many yeers against that most cruell tyrant the Turk; nay from being overcome they became conquerors afterwards, They might hope the like now, but the redouted name of your Majesty, and the invincible vertu of your military forces being understood, their hearts are so dejected, that ther is little left us to resist, much lesse to overcome; But they are deceav'd, yea mightily deceav'd if the *French* attribute any thing of this to their valour. Therefore all Armes being cast away we place all our hopes in the rare clemency, or rather the Divine piety of your imperiall Majesty : And in the name of the Prince, the Senat and people of *Venice*, with humble devotion and in most supplicant maner we pray, beseech and implore that you wold vouchsafe to behold with the countenance of compassion our most afflicted condirion, and to apply som comfortable remedy unto them : All the Laws of peace that you shall impose upon us, we will embrace, we shall obey all just, honest and equitable comands not swarving from reason; But haply we deserve that we lay a necessity upon our self, that all things may return to you as tru and lawfull Prince that which our progenitors took from this sacred Empire, and the Dukedom of *Austria*, which that it may be don more hand somly, we add whatsoever we possesse in the continent, we yeeld, notwithstanding any rites we can clayme unto them. Moreover we are willing to pray every yeer to your Majesty, and the lawfull successors of the Empire 500 weight of Gold in lieu of tribut, and we are ready to obey all Decrees, Manats, Precepts or Lawes, that come from your Majesty. Defend us therefore from those, we beseech you, with whom we lately joyned our armes, who we find now to be most cruell enemies, which study nothing more then the utter ruin of the *Venetian* name; Being preserved by this : our clemency we shall call you our farther, and parent, our protector and founder, and we shall digest these your mighty benefits into our annalls, and our late Nephews, shall be ever mindfull of them : And truly this will be no small accession of glory to you; that you were the first before whom the Republic of *Venice* did present her self, to whom she layed down her neck, whom she adores, and reverenceth as som God decended from Heaven. If Almighty God had given our Ancestros that mind that they had not middled so much with other mens things, our republic had surpass'd by this time all the Citties of *Europe*, whereas she is now forlorn and squalid, coverd over with ashes, ignominy and shame, having in a moment as it were had her beauty blasted, and becom a derision to all Nations, and lost the glory of all her former

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victories ; But that my speech may return where it began , it lieth in your power O *Caesar* , that pardoning and absolving your *Venetians* you purchase now to your self a name and glory then which never any got a greater by conquest or victory. This Monument no age, no time, no antiquity or cours of mortall things shall ever deface out of our memories, but all Ages shall confesse , declare , and proclaime you to be the most pious , and most glorious of all Princes, We your *Venetians* shall ascribe it to your goodnesse , that we live and breath the celestially air, that we have the conversation of men, we impute it all to your vertu, felicity, and clemency.

This was the lamentable speech , that the mayden Republic breath'd out before the Emperour *Maximilian* , by the mouth of her Ambassador *Antonio Justiniano* ; but 'tis known that Mayds have teares at will, therefore most men thought these words were not cordiall but meer complements , and to temporize , yet they produced a peace , and 'tis a cheap peace that is got by a complement ; but this submission the Republic made was partly recompencd , by a generous and pious act she did in refusing the help , and Auxiliaries which the Turk offered her so earnestly in those her extremities. About *Addua* she receavd the mortall'ft blow that ever she had, and it was like to have bin as fatall to her as *Canna* to the *Romans* , or *Pavia* to the *French King* ; The *Genoways* also brought her once to a low ebb , so that she sent very low proposalls to him, which he refusing , she made vertu of necessity , and reinforcing her self soundly bangd him.

Before I part with this *Mayden City* , I will make a parallel betwixt her and old *Rome* , for of all the Cities of *Italy* thers none resemble her more in her constitutions and policy , nay she is more like old *Rome* then *Rome* her self as now she is , as if the soul of old *Rome* by a Pythagorean kind of meterapluchosis , were transmigrated into her , she is obdurate with the same kind of vigor and vertuas old *Rome* ; but it seemes that she is of a far stronger constitution , and more constant in her way of policy ; som do brand the one to be a *Shepherds Town* at first , and *Venice* a *Fisher Town* ; 'Tis tru that *Rome* is fabled to be so , so that it might be said , that when the *Pope* came to be her head she was reduced to her first principles , for as a Shepherd was the founder , so a Shepherd (spirituall) is still her preserver from utter ruin , orherwise she had bin long since turn'd into a heap of rubbish which had becom her Tomb , So that Providence seems to have a care of her still , though present *Rome* may be sayed to be but the monument of her self compar'd to times pass'd when she was in that flourish wherin Saint *Augustin* did wish to see her ; She was then of 50. miles circumference, as *Papiscus* witnesseth , and she had 500000. free Citizens in a famous cense that was made in *Claudius* his time ; which allowing but six to evry family in Women, Children and Servants, came to 3. millions of Soules , but She may be sayed to be now but a Wildernes in comparison of that number , yet She is esteem'd to have yet bout 14. miles incircuit, Moreover She is much humbled since the Church came to be her Head , for wheras She was before elevated upon seven Hills,

Hills, She now spreads her-self upon a flatt, having descended to the Plaines of *Campus Martius*: So She who tamed the World seemd to tame her-self at last, and falling under her own weight grew to be a prey to *Time*, who with his iron teeth consumes all bodies at last, making all things both animat and inanimat which have their being under that changeling the Moon to be subject unto corruption and dissolution.

*A Parallel twixt the Government of old Rome
and Venice.*

THe greatest thing wherein old *Rome* differs from *Venice*, is, that after Kings or Souverain Princes *Rome* was governd by *Consulls*, but here clean contrary, after *Consulls* a *Doge* or Princely Head came to govern, yet doth he carry still the badge of a *Consull* in the vest upon his back. Among the Romans *Tribunus Celerum* he who had the comand of the Cavalrie had the chiefeest charge, just so, the Venetians use to create a *Captain General* of the Armies in the Continent, and as he at *Rome* defended the King, and Cittie, and was the first that assailed the Enemy, and the last that left the field, so doth the *Venetian General*, therefore he hath the next place to the Prince himself.

Moreover, a good while passd when the *Consulls* could not levy the cense which evry one according to his substance was bound to pay in regard of other more important affaires wherein they were involvd, therefore the *Censors* were chosen, so calld because their first office was to gather the cense, which was to know the number of Cittizens, and putt an estimat upon their states, and so a tax; afterwards this Magistrat did grow to that esteem and use, that he came to have authority allso over the maners and customes of the Romanes, and to have Superintendency both of the Senat, the Cavalry and Gards. In conformity to this office ther are ten *Censors* in *Venice* which are calld vulgarly *Gli dieci Savii*, the ten Sages, who supervise not only the cense but the Customes allso of the Cittie; But the Cittie encreasing, and peeple multiplying daylie with busines, *Venice* did choose other *Censors* giving them authority over the *pomp*, the *food* and *rayment* of the Cittizens; which Magistrats are calld *la Giustizia nuova*, instituted in the time of *Renier Zeno*, who have authority over all Inns, Hostries, and Lodgers of Strangers.

The Romans, peeple still encreasing, and having Warrs in divers places, created in tract of time a new Officer of greater authority whom they calld *Dictator*; from him ther was no appeale to be made, and he had in the highest way of authority power over the lifes of men: The *General of the Sea* among the *Venetians* hath som resemblance with this Officer, only with this difference, that he is chosen upon extraordinary occasions, but as long as he is abroad he hath a Dictatorian power; for to what maritim place soever he arrives he hath the Keys of the Town brought him, with those of any Castle or Fortresse. But here it is to be observd, that this Officer cannot enter *Venice* with any armed Gallie, but as soon as he comes to *Istria*, which is distant 100. miles from *Venice*,

he payes the Mariners and all other Officers their Salaries, and so disbands them, and returns to *Venice* with a very few of his retinue: This corresponds with the custom of the Romanes, who use to restrain their Generall to passe over the river *Rubicon* by this peremptory comand, *Imperator, five Miles, five Tyrannus armatus quisquis, sistito, vexillum armâ, deponito nec citra hunc amnem Rubiconem transito: Emperour, or Soldier, or Tyrant, whosoever thou art, putt off thy armor, else crosse not this River.* This was the reason that *Julius Caesar* was declar'd Enemy to *Rome* because he had pass'd that River.

Afterwards in *Rome* they added to the Dictator Officers call'd *Magistri Equitum*, who shold be present at all Councells; and in case the Dictator shold be sick *They* were to execut his office, as being as it were his Compagnous, and Witnesses of his virtues: Just so, the *Venetians* use to choose two *Proveditori* in evry Army who have the next place to the Generall, and must be present at all Councells, and have a concurrence of their opinions before any enterprize.

Besides these the *Venetians* make choice of three of the Patrician Order, whom they stile *Aurrogatori de Comuni*, who resemble *Tribunos plebis* in *Rome*; these three are rather Sollicitors then Judges for the peeple, they are their Intercessors upon all occasions.

Add herunto that the Romanes thought it fitting to choose Officers that should have care of the profitt, the ornament and provision of the Cittie, therfore did they constitut divers persons of probitie, and known integrity, and they went all under the name of *Ediles*; The first two they did choose, were to have speciall care of the Temples and Fanes, as as allso of other Fabriques and Ornaments of the Cittie, which Officers were stiled *Ediles adium*: Ther were others call'd *Ediles Curules*, whose charge it was to supervise all Weights and Mesures: Ther were others call'd *Ediles Cercales*, who supervis'd all sorts of Grain, of Oile and such provision: In *Venice* ther are sundry Officers that may be compar'd to these *Ediles*. First, the *Procurators* of Saint Mark, who have the Superintendence of the Church, and the Tresury therof: Then com the *Proveditori alla Sanità*, which have it in charge to see that no noisom and unwholsom things be brought into the Cittie, the generall health and incolumity wherof they are to study: Next them are the *Proveditori all' Acque*, who supervise the Waters, Lakes and Channells within and without the Cittie, which they are to see scowrd and cleans'd: Then follow *Signori alla Giustitia Vecchia*, the Lords of the old Justice, who severely punish those that are discover'd to have false Weights, and they sett reasonable prizes upon fruits and other things: Then is ther another sort of *Ediles* call'd *Proveditori alla farina*, that supervise the mesure and the wholsomnes of all kind of Graines, and that they be well condition'd: Then is ther another sort of Edills call'd *Proveditori all' sale*, who rent all the Salt pitts, provided that the Cittie be serv'd at reasonable rates: Then are ther other sorts of *Ediles* call'd *Gli Signori alla Ternaria Vecchia*, who were instituted in the time of *Giovanni Dandolo*, who supervise the Oil; Then *Gli Signori alla grassa*, who supervise Cheefe, Bacon, and all salt things: Then *Signori del vino*, who look to the condition

and rates of all kinds of Wines ; Then *gli Signori di panni d'oro*, who take a speciall care that no fraud be us'd in the making and vending of any Gold, Silver, Tissue, or Silk stuffs ; Then you have the *Signori della Dogana di mare*, which were instituted in the government of *Tomaso Mocenigo*, whose charge is to look to the freight of all sorts of Ships and Gallies, if they go laden with any Marchandize, and overlook that the Republick be not cosned in her imposts ; Lastly, ther be a sort of *Ediles* calld *delle Ragion vecchie*, who have it comitted to their charge that in case any Ambassador com, or any forren Prince into the City, they are to see that he be entertaind, and defrayd by the publick expence of *S. Marke*.

The *Romans* had also Officers calld *Questores*, who receav'd and distributed the public treasure, and they were calld so *ab inquirenda pecunia*, from making search after moneys ; so in *Venice* ther are such Officers calld *Camerlinghi*, who have the very same charge. And as the *Questors* in *Rome* were to accompanie the Emperour or Generall, to keep account of the publick Salaries, and Treasures ; so the *Venetians* when War happens use to send their *Camerlinghi* to the Army, who are always present with the Generall ; and do not only administer the public stock, but supervise all preyes and booties taken from the enemy. In *Rome* ther were *Questors* also in times of peace ; so likewise in all the Cities belonging to the Republick, ther are such *Questors* who have power to recover, spend and pay the Public deniers, whereof they use to send a particular account to the Senat with the Treasure that remains unspent ; In resemblance to these *Roman Questors*, ther are divers other Officers in the Republic of *Venice*, as *gli Governatori dell' entrate* they who receive the public Revenues of the Signorie, with all sorts of Gabells and Impositions. Ther are also *I Signori sopra I conti*, who are as it were the Auditors Generall, and look to all public accounts that belong to the Republic. Ther is *La Dogana da terra*, and *L'Vsata*, whereof the one lookes to all commodities imported, the other to all exported. Ther is an Office also calld the *Messetaria*, who takes up two in the hundred in sale of all stable goods, as well within as without the City.

But those *Questors* which are Paymasters, are only the three Chambers the *tre camere de monti*, the old, the new, and the subsidiary Mount, who daily disburse and pay moneys.

Besides these ther were among the *Romans*, other *Questors* calld *Questores Candidati*, so called because they went clad in white, whose Office was to read in the Senat all kind of Letters that were of any moment. The Chancellor of *Venice* resembleth this *Questor*, who is of the rank of Citizens, and of mighty repure among all men, because he only while he lives, can see, know and understand all things that is agitated in the Senat, although the most secret transactions ; He goes in a Senatorian habit, and is held a most honorable person, although he be not of the Patrician and noble Order.

It is time now to speak of the *Decemvirs*, who, all other Magistrates being casheerd in the City of *Rome*, were created to have the sole and supe-

superintendent power of all things ; every one of these was used to sit upon the Tribunall ten dayes, and determine all matters, and they were used to succeed one another ; In imitation hereof the *Venetians* have the same Magistrates who jump with those of *Rome* both in number and authority, which is vulgarly calld *il Consiglio di Dieci*, the Councell of ten ; That in *Rome* dur'd for a year, and so doth this, both of them were without appeal unlesse it be in *Venice* to the Colledg, and then a busines is sayd to go *à l'altra mano*. In this *Rome* and *Venice* differ, that this kind of Magistrate in the one was of short continuance, and quickly perished, but this in *Venice* hath for many hundr'd yeers continued to the great wellfare and safety of the City ; when the *Decemviri* in *Rome* were created all other Officers ceas'd, it is otherwise here ; those governd only for ten days, and of these three are chosen every moneth, which are calld *gli tre Capi* ; one of them alone hath no power to judge or refer, but he must have another to joyn with him, but in both Citties they were advanced to the *Decemvirat* who precelld others in experience and age, in probity and known sufficiency.

There were also a long time after the foundation of *Rome* Officers elected called *Prators*, for the story relates the City stood 390 yeers before any was created ; The Wars were the cause of the election of this Magistrate, because in the confusion of Armes the Consulls could not tend all busineses, therefore ther were other Judges created calld *Prators* ; Of these *Prators* ther were among the Ancients three sorts, *Urbani*, *Forenses*, or *Provinciales*, The first determind controversies betwixt Cittizens and Tounsmen ; The second sort decided Cases twixt Cittizens and Countrey-men ; and the third went to the Government of Provinces ; so likewise in the Republic of *Venice* such *Prators* are created, and in the same degree of Order ; The *Pratores Urbani* are represented by those that are of the *Corti de petitione*, and other Offices, which determine all differences twixt Cittizens ; The *Pratores Forenses* are those that preside in the *Ufficio* calld *del Forastiero*, and the *Provinciall Prators* are represented by those who go up and down the Dominions and Cities that are under the obedience of the Republic, & they are calld *Prators* or *Podestà*. The first Officers in this kind were *del Petitione*, and they were sufficient at first to dispatch all sorts of differences, but afterwards in proces of time, busineses augmenting with the Age and strength of the Signorie, ther were divers other Magistrates of the same kind created. The *Judici de Petitione* determind all Sutes as far as 1000 Ducketts, or any above 50. They cause all bargaines to be performed ; They tax the allowance of Pupills for their sustenance, and education, unlesse they be within the precincts of the Procurators of *S. Mark*.

Ther be other Officers stild *Guidici all' officio del mobile*, they determine all Controversies and Causes 50 Ducketts upwards that happen about moveables, and personall Estates. Ther are also Judges-examiners ; Ther be other Officers calld *Cataveri*, which is much of the same nature though inferior in degree to the *Camerlinghi* ; Ther is another Officer calld *Il pio vego*, who takes Cognizance of all con-

Contracts tending to Usury, this Officer hath also care of the public ways; Ther be other Officers calld *Syndicks*, which supervize all public expences; Ther be others calld *Sopragastaldi*, who put in execution the sentences that are pass'd by other Judges, and sell the goods brought in by sentence of the Court; And because som error may arise in the sale of such goods, ther's another Office calld *de Superiori*, who are to censure the Acts of the *Sopragastaldi*; To these may be added the *Consulls* and *Sopra Consoli*, who are peculiar Officers touching Marchants affaires, and carry the busines so that a bankrupt cannot be utterly ruind. The last kind of Pretor is *del Forestiero*, who determines differences twixt *Venetians* and *Forener*, or twixt *Forener* and *Forener*. All controversies touching Rents of Houses go before these Judges, as also touching the hyre of Shippes and Barkes.

The *Romans* had also certaine Officers calld *Centumviri*, in Analogy to whom the Republic hath *Consilio di Quarantie*, or the Councell of 40. and hence it may be sayd that the division sprung it being of three Orders, *viz.* two upon civill Causes, and the third upon Criminall; Touching civill Causes the one is calld *la vecchia*, before whom all Causes com from the *Auditori vecchi*, whereof former mention hath bin made; the other is calld *la nuova* created by the *Pisan* Law, where all Causes that are introduced into the Court by the *Auditori nuovi* are decided; But in tract of time controversies multiplying together with the people, *il Collegio de venti savii*, the Colledg of 20 Sages were adjoynd to it, who take cognizance of differences as far as 300 Duckets; and lastly the Colledg of twelve was added, who shold terminat all Sutes as far as 100 Crownes: So the *Centumviri* in *Rome* were divided to fower Councells, whence came the saying *Judicium quadruplex*, who usd to meete in *foro Ducario*, and in ancient times in the Church of Saint *Julia*, which places were so contiguous, that they could overheare one another as *Quintilian* observes. These Councells of 40 have three heads or Presidents of their order, who for two moneths have the precedency of the rest, and introduce the Causes which are to be handled; they cast lots in three Boxes, whereof one is in favor, the other clean contrary, and the third nor one nor the other, which is call'd *non Syncero*.

The *Romans* had also foure men who had care of the Streets, and the same officers are in *Venice*, who are calld *Provveditori di Comun*, whose care and industry is to keep the Streets well repaired, with the Bridges, whereof ther is nere upon 1000 of all sorts, with other public places; but whereas ther were foure officers in *Rome* of this nature, ther are but three in *Venice*, yet they have many for their substitutes. Moreover ther were in *Rome* three officers who supervizd the Coines of Gold and Silver, ther are the same number in *Venice*, who are *Provveditori alla Zeccha*.

After all these com the Prefects or Captains that are appointed for the government of Citties abroad, who may be fitly compar'd to the Prefects of places among the *Romans*, and their office is the very same;

They have care of the Walls of the Cittie, with the Gates thereof, and upon any insurrection they have power to rayse and assemble the Inhabitants of the place to suppress it; they sett the Gards, and look to all things that tend to conservation and outward security of the Cittie. Ther were also in Rome Officers calld *Præfecti victuum*, that had care to see the place well provided with Victualls, and prevent famine by bringing in Corn and other necessities from abroad; so in Venice ther are three chosen that have the like charge, which are called *Proveditori alle biade*, and upon extraordinary occasions ther are other two added to them calld *Sopra proveditori*, but these kind of Officers may be ranked more properly among the *Ædiles*.

Lastly, the Romans had an Officer calld the *Præfectus Vigiliarum*, who had care to prevent all fyrings of Houses, and if any happend to suppress and extinguish it, before it shold spread further, as also to take cognizance of burglaries, thefts and robberies don in the night time; So the Republic of Venice, who hath bin industrious to search into all Lawes, holding it no disparagment to imitat any that may tend to her better Wellfare, have ten Gentlemen elected, who are divided to two parts, but both calld *Signori di notte*; To the one five are brought all Civill causes, to the other all Criminal that have relation to the night; The office of these is to secure evry one in his own Precinct, and prevent that the obscurity of the night do not procure damage to any body, to prevent murders, and breaking into Houses.

Of the Precincts or Sextaries of the Cittie of Venice.

NOW the whole Cittie is divided to 6. Precincts, viz. *Castello*, *S. Marco*, *Canareio*, *S. Paolo*, *S. Croce* and *Dorsoduro*: Under *Castello* ther are *S. Pietro*, *S. Biasio*, *S. Martino*, *S. Gio: Baptista in Bragora*, *S. Antonino*, *S. Trinità*, *S. Severo*, *S. Procolo*, *S. Gio: di nuovo*, *S. Maria Formosa*, *S. Marina*, *S. Leone*, and the Church of the Dominican Fryers, *S. Francesco della vigna*, *S. Antonio*, *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, *S. Francesco di Paola*, and the Nunnes of that Order, *S. Maria delle Vergine*, *S. Daniele*, *S. Anna*, *S. Gioseppe*, *S. Maria Celeste*, *S. Sepolchro*, *S. Lorenzo*, *S. Giovanni Laterano*, and *S. Zaccheria*, with other Churches of *S. Gio: di Forlani*, *di SS. Filippo*, *e Giacomo*, and of *S. Georgio of Greece*.

In *S. Marks* Precinct ther is *S. Marks* Church her-self, *S. Gemmiano*, *S. Moïse*, *S. Maria Sobenigo*, *S. Maurizio*, *S. Vitale*, *S. Samuele*, *S. Angelo*, *S. Benedetto*, *S. Paterniano*, *S. Fantino*, *S. Luca*, *S. Salvatore*, *S. Bartolmeo*, *S. Fuliano*, and *S. Basso*: *S. Stephano*, *S. Salvatore*, with Nunnes of that Order; *S. Rocco*, *Santa Margherita*, *S. Theodoro*, *S. Maria di Consolazione*, *S. Maria di Broglia*, and the School of *Iustitia*.

In *Canareio* ther are *S. Lucia*, *S. Gieremia*, *SS. Ermasorn*, and *Fortunato*, *S. Maria Madalena*, *S. Marciale*, *S. Fosca*, *S. Felice*, *S. Sofia*, *SS. Apostoli*, *S. Canciano*, *S. Maria nuova*, *S. Gio: Chrysostomo*, and *S. Leonardo*; *De frati S. Fobbs*, *S. Maria de Servi*, *S. Maria del horto*,

horto, *S. Maria de Crocicchieri*, with the Nunnes of *S. Lucia*, *S. Catarina*, *Corpo di Christo*, *S. Luigi*, *S. Gyrolamo*, and *S. Maria de miracoli*.

In the Precincts of Saint Paul ther are these Parishes, *S. Paolo*, *S. Tomaso*, *S. Stefano Confessore*, *S. Agostino*, *S. Ubaldo*, *S. Apollinare*, *S. Sylvestro*, *S. Gio: Eleemosinario*, *S. Mateo*, *S. Giacopo*, *Frati di S. Maria*, and *Frati minori*.

In *Santa Croce* ther are these Parishes, *S. Croce*, *S. Simeon profeta*, *SS. Simon*, *S. Guida Apostolo*, *S. Gio: decollato*, *S. Giacopo del Orio*, *S. Eustasio*, *S. Maria mater Domini*, *S. Cassano*, *S. Nicolò di Talentino*, the Nunnes of *S. Croce*, *S. Andrea*, *S. Chiara*. But it is to be observd that in som Precincts som Ilands are included, with Churches belonging to Monasteries, as *S. Helena*, *S. Andrea della Certosa*, *S. Georgio Maggiore*, *S. Clemente*, *S. Maria delle grazie*, *S. Spirito*, *S. Francesco dal deserto*, *S. Giacopo di paludo*, *S. Nicolo di Lito*, *S. Christoforo della pace*, *S. Michaele*, *S. Georgio in Alga*, *S. Angelo di concordia*, *S. Secondo*, with the Nunnes of *S. Servolo*, with other of *S. Erasmo*, *S. Lazaro*, *Lazaretto nuovo*, *Lazaretto vecchio*.

Lastly, in *Dorsoduro* ther are these Parishes, *S. Nicolò*, *S. Rafaele*, *S. Basilio*, *S. Margherita*, *S. Pantaleone*, *S. Barnaba*, *SS. Gervasa and Barnabà*, *S. Portasio*, *S. Agnese*, *SS. Vito and Modesto*, *S. Gregorio*, *S. Enfemia della Giudeca*, *Frati di S. Giacopo della Giudeca*, *Il Redentore*, *S. Gio: della Giudeca*, *S. Sebastiano*, *I Carmeni*, *Maria della curità*, the Nunnes of *S. Biasio Catoldo*, *S. Croce della Giudeca*, *SS. Cosmo e Damiano*, *Le Convertite*, *S. Marta*, *S. Maria Maggiore*, *lo Spirito Santo*, *Ogni Santi*, *la Trinità*, *le Citelle*, *Abbatie & Priorati*, *S. Georgio Maggiore*, *S. Nicolo di Lito*, *S. Gregorio*, *S. Giovanni della Giudeca*, *S. Tomaso di Borgognoni*, *S. Andrea della Certosa*, *S. Helena*, *S. Gio: del Templo*, *la Trinità*, *la Misericordia*, *S. Gio: Evangelista*, *S. Gio: Laterano*. In the Precinct of *Dorsoduro* the Jesuits had nested themselves untill they were thrust out.

Ther are divers rich Hospitalls also in Venice, the first is *di Giesu Christo* à *S. Antonio*, *di S. Pietro* è *S. Paolo*, *della pietà*, *della casa di Dio*, à *S. Martino* à *I Crocicchieri*, *alla Misericordia*, *alla Carità*, à *S. Gio: Evangelista*, à *S. Croce*, à *S. Andrea*, à *S. Vito*, *al volto Santo*, à *S. Ubaldo*, à *S. Rafaele*, à *S. Gio: Paolo all' incurabili*, *S. Lazaro*, *le bocole*, *Lazaretto vecchio*, *Lazaretto nuovo*, *ill Soccorso*, & *quello de Mendicanti*. Ther's no place on Earth where ther is greater provision for poor Maydens, in so much that evry yeer ther are great numbers married out of the common stock, and they the Mayds of Saint Mark, or *della Carità*, *della Misericordia*, *di S. Gio: Evangelista*, *di San Rocco*, or *di San Teodoro*, &c.

Herin also Venice doth imitat her Mother Rome, whose principall endeavour was to purchase an opinion of piety and holines among all peepel, that by that bayt they might com under Her obedience the sooner; So that She hath in Churches, Monasteries, Nunneries, and Hospitalls neer upon 160. Nor do I beleve that he is much wide of the mark who made an estimat of the revenue of the Venetian

Church both in the Continent, and Islands to be above two Millions of Crowns.

Besides old *Rome*, *Venice* did likewise borrow something of the *Greek* Common-wealths her Neighbours also, as will appear to any that will be curious to make re-searches into the Code and Digest of her Lawes; But touching her next Neighbour *Athens*, she by dabbling too much with the Sea, and forsaking her interests in the Continent, undid her self; But the City of *Venice* had contrary successe, for the Sea made Her, and quickned Her industry, it made Her turn necessary into industry, for, just as the *Hollander*, She having at first no Land to manure, fell a plowing up the Sea, and by putting a bridle in *Neptunes* mouth, She forced by art a mansion for her self out of those places which fish shold naturally inhabit; so that in the midst of the salt Surges, and Billowes of the *Hadriatic* Sea She may be sayd to be—*Mediâ immersabilis undâ*.

The main instruments that govern this Republic are the Gentry, for the *Venetians* do call those *Gentlemen* that have a share in the Government of this Common-wealth, viz. those that have authority to elect the publick Magistrats, and have a capacity themselves to be elected. This prerogative is given unto them by their birth, so as whosoever are born of noble Parents (now these words Noble and Gentleman are synonimas amongst them) is accounted noble, and may at a certain time and manner limited by the Lawes, enter into the great Councell, where the ordinary election of Magistrats is made; Into this rank are receavd either those, who having bin the chief Inhabitants of the Cittie, and being most famous for Vertue or Wealth, have from the beginning had the managing of publick affaires; or also those who for som notable exploits or worthy act don in the service of the Republic are at sundry times, and upon speciall occasions admitted thereunto, who for the most part have bin of the chief, and noblest Familys, or som other place subject to the Signorie, or some others to whom by speciall grace and favour this title of Nobility hath bin given; wherein neverthelesse they have carried themselves very sparingly, it being granted but to Lords of great Estates, and in this maner were the Families of *Este*, *Gonzaga*, and *Farneses* with som other of the chiefe of *Italy* admitted therunto. *Henry* King of *Poland* after the third of that Name of *France*, being at *Venice* among other honors receavd the title of a *Venetian* Gentleman, and he seemd to be highly pleasd with the dignity as appeerd by his presents: Moreover all those that descend from such as receive this degree, have the same preheminance as their Parents in such a tract of time; But to the end it may be continually maintaind in it's perfection, they do curiously search out the Predigrees of those who are to enter into the great Councell, not only the Nobility of the Father, but likewise whether they be born of lawfull Matrimony, and of no Comon Woman, but of some honorable degree and condition, whereof a Register is kept by one of the chief Magistrats, termd the *Avogario* of the Republic.

The

The chief orders of Knight-hood in the *Venetian Republic* are first those of *S. Mark*, begun in the year 1330. and reviv'd Anno 1562. They are to be of the noblest sort of *Patricians*; the second is of the glorious Virgin instituted by *Bartholameo* of *Vicenza*, and is more ancient then the other for it was instituted Anno 1222. their charge is to protect Widowes and Orphans, and to defend the peace of *Italy*; It was approv'd by Pope *Urban* the fourth Anno 1262. The Armes are a purple Crosse between certain Stars, a white Robe over a russet Cloak, but the Generall Armes are *Gules*, two Keyes in Saltier, or, stringed *Azure*; The Motto which the Knights of *S. Mark* carry is *Pax tibi Marce Evangelista*; Ther are under the Dominions of *Venice* two Patriarks, and thirty fower Archbishops, and Bishops.

Now it will not be amisse to speak somthing of the Military strength of this Republic by Land and Sea; touching *Navall* power, she hath more Gallies and Galeasses than all *Europe* besides, and her security depends more upon the Sea than shore; yet she entertaines in constant pay by Land 25000 Foot in *Lombardy*, besides som of the *Cantons* of *Swisserland* and the *Grisons*, in *Dalmatia* and *Istria* she hath about 3000 more; She hath also in perpetuall pay 600 men of Armes, whereof every one must keep two Horses a peece, for which they are allow'd 120 Duckets a yeer, and they are for the most part Gentlemen of *Lombardy*; When she hath any extraordinary expedition to make, she hath a Stranger for her Generall, and many Soverain Princes have thought it no disparagement to serve her in this kind, but he is superviz'd by two *Proveditors* without whom he cannot attempt any thing.

Touching the annuall Revenues of the Republic of *Venice*, they exceed any other State in *Christendome*, and all Kings except *Spain* and *France*, for She hath above foure Millions of constant incomes every yeer; she hath out of *Brescia* her self and her Precincts 100450 Crowns of annuall Revenue; Out of *Padua* 140000. out of *Verana* 90000. Out of *Vicenza* 36000. Out of *Bergamo*. 60000. Out of *Friuli* 30000. Out of *Marca Trevisana* 90000. Out of *Dalmatia* 10000. Out of the Cittie of *Venice* herself above 600000 Crowns of annuall incomes; besides what she hath from the *Greek* Islands that are under her Dominions; In times of pressing Emergences she hath divers wayes to make Levies, for the security and advantage of the Signorie, Among others she hath bin forc'd to make sale of Offices, and admit young Gentlemen into the *great Conncell* before their time; By this way she hath got many Millions from time to time, for preservation of her Maydenhead, and supplies of urgent necessities; but this cours is used with a reservation alwayes, that *Merit* must concur with *Money*, so that it is not the highest bidder that carries it.

Oftentimes in case of danger she makes the Gentry, and Cittizens that enjoy any stable possessions under the *Republic*, to advance the Rents for so many yeers; She makes also some of her

Magistrats serve her gratis, and without salary for a time; She also makes frequent use of Lotteries to serve her turn; And the Church useth to contribut very largely, yet they never exact any thing of the Ecclesiasticks without acquainting the Pope, which is only *pro forma*: But the War ceasing, these extraordinary Levies cease also with the cause, and all things return exactly to be *in statu quo prius*, which hath often happend, and this makes the people contribute more cheerfully, because she is alwayes very carefull to keep her Public Faith with her Subjects inviolable.

I will conclude this particular Description of the so much admired Cittie of *Venice* with one observation more, *viz.* That there are few places where there are more curious and costly Books for the illiterat vulgar, for so the *Romanists* term Church-Images and Sculptures, whereof there are great numbers *à la Mosaisca*, and made by the famous *Titiano* a *Venetian* born, one of the most remarkable is that of the Virgin *Maries* at Saint Marks Church, where those who desire to know whether a friend absent be living or dead, use to set up a Wax Candle in the open Aire before the Picture, and if the party be living the Candle doth quietly burn out be the wind never so high; if he be dead, the least puff blowes it out according to their belief. There is also on Saint Marks Walls, among divers others, the Picture of two Cocks carrying away a *Wolfe*, which represents *Lodovico Sforza* the Duke of *Milan*, and the Cocks denote *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Charles* the eighth Kings of *France* who outed him of his Duchy. There are also two Emblematicall Lions, one meagre and leane lying on the Land; The other plump and fat sporting in the Water; the last refers to S. Marks Lion the Armes of *Venice*, who hath both enriched, and defended her self, more by the Sea than by Land; for whereas some Citties of *Italy* are said to be walld with Fire (meaning Flint) *Venice* may more truly be sayd to be walld with Water; It is the Water, wherein she lies like a Swannes nest, that doth both fence and feed Her; to which purpose she hath many thousands of Wooden Horses perpetually bringing her provisions, and carrying her Inhabitants up and down within and about the City; But a horse of flesh were as strange a thing to be seen there as an *Elephant* upon *London* streets. Therefore it were as absurd an impertinency to prefer a *Farrier* to *Venice*, as it was in him who would have prefer'd a *Spurrier* to Queen *Elizabeth*.

To speak of the sundry sorts of Antiquities, Monuments, and ingenious Epitaphs, which are in the Churches up and down *Venice*, would afford matter enough to fill Volumes, I will only produce an instance of one extraordinary odd kind of Epitaph, upon *Peter Aretin* in S. *Lukes* Church:

*Qui giace l'Aretin Poeta Tosco,
Chi disse mal d'ognun fuor che di Dio,
Scusandosi, dicendo, n'ol conobbi.*

Englised thus:

The Toscan *Aretin* lies in this Grave,

He

He who at all, excepting God, did rave;
And if the reason you desire to have,
He knew *Him* not.

Having thus endeavourd to sett forth this Mayden Cittie in Her tru colours, and made the narrowest inspection into Her *Water* we could, the close of Her Character shall be som peculiar *Epithetts* that are given to Her among the rest of the fair Towns of *Italy*, as followeth;

*Fama tra noi; Roma, pomposa & santa;
Venetia riccha, faggia, signorile;
Napoli odorifera & Gentile;
Fiorenza bella, tutto il mondo canta;
Grande Milano in Italia si vanta;
Bologna grassa, & Ferrara civile;
Padona dotta, & Bergamo sottile;
Genoa di superbia altiera pianta;
Verona degna, & Perugia sanguigna;
Brescia T'armata, & Mantoa gloriosa;
Rimini buona, & Pistoia ferrigna;
Cremona antica, & Luca industriosa;
Furlì bizzarro, & Ravenna benigna;
Et Singallia de l'aria noiosa;
Et Capona l'amorosa;
Pisa frendente, & Pesaro giardino;
Ancona bel Porto al Pellegrino;
Fidelissimo Urbino;
Ascoli tondo, & lungo Recanate;
Foligno delle strade inzuccherate,
Et par da'l cielo mandate
Le belle donne di Fano si dice;
Mà Siena poi tra l'altre più felice.*

Among all these Citties we find that *Venice* is ranked next *Rome*, and hath three as it were *proverbiall attributs* given Her higher than any of the rest, *viz.* to be *Rich, Wise, and Ladylike* or *Stately*; wherunto I shall add another saying, *Venegia, Venegia, chi non Ti vede non Ti pregia*; the Eye is the best Judg of *Venice*.

Having now don with the *Topography*, and local description of *Venice*, together with Her method of Government and Magistracy both *Urban & Rurall*, Having also given som touches of her wealth, power and extent of Dominion, with other singularities peculiar to Her, We will now make som referches into Her *Annalls*, and speak of Her *Martiall Exploits* up and down the World; as also of the transactions and traverses of State twixt other *Princes* and Her which are various and very remarkable, She having allwayes bin one of the most politic and pragmaticallst Republics on Earth; Therefore in Her's the Story of many parts of Christendom and other Regions may be sayed to be involvd: All which shall be don in a regular way of succinēnes, and a speciall care had to avoyd trivialties and imper-tinencies, as well as that no materiall passage may be omitted.

OF

OF THE
PRINCES,
AND
DUKES
OF
VENICE.

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V.P.



PAULUTIO ANAFESTO.
THE FIRST
DOGE, OR DUKE,
OF
VENICE.



Nity is as much requisite for the well-being of *An. Dom.*
things, as *Entity* is for their being; the Philosophers (as formerly was said,) call it the highest
697.
point of perfection, all bodies incline and propend
towards it, by a secret instinct of nature as to their
Center: The Republic of *Venice* therefore finding
som inconveniences; or half a kind of confusion,

if not a deformity, to have two heads upon one body, grew weary of
the Tribunitia Power, and so resolv'd to reduce the Sovrain Authority
under one, to which purpose, a notable Speech was made to this effect:

That there was no more hope to be had of the Venetian Com-
mon-wealth, nor yet of their Liberty, which had bin purchased
and maintain'd by their Progenitors with such generosity, unless
the fury of the Tribunes expired; that their self-same Ancestors
had in times past for the sweetnesse of Liberty abandoned their most
pleasant Countrey, their Houses, and all other matters which
men commonly esteem most dear, and were com into barren Lands,
where there was nothing that might invite them to dwell; That if they
could have dispos'd with their Liberty, they might with all safety
have remain'd in the City where they were first born and brought up;
and with this losse alone, might have liv'd peaceably among the Bar-
barians; but being full of innard courage, they suppos'd that they

ought not to lose their Freedom, but with their lives; wherefore divers of those that were there present, following the example of their Predecessors, came only into those places to live at Liberty; To what purpose then was their designs? what profit had they by their dislodging? why had they so many Churches, Buildings, and so many public and private Houses? why did they forsake the *firm land* to eschew bondage, and yet meet it in the *midst of the waters* by the insolency of a few, whither it was likely, that the barbarous enemy who was so near them, wold take any rest, till he had found some means to ruinate this new Domicile of Liberty, seeing that Tyrants hate nothing so much as that Name, and undoubtedly 'twas his wish, to see the whole Venetian State destroy'd by civill discord, which he could not shake by any other means.

Hereupon they suddenly resolv'd to elect a new Duke who should represent the Honor and Majesty of the whole State, and have power to Assemble the General Councell, to choose Annual Tribunes in the inferior Islands, from whence the Appeals should come before him: and moreover, if any had obtain'd any dignity or Prelatship by the suffrages of the Clergy, he should not enjoy the same, without the ratification of the Duke.

Upon these Deliberations PAULUTIO of *Heraclea*, a man of integrity, experience and courage, was chosen Duke after the Cities foundation, about 1276. He took an Oath, well and faithfully to provide whatsoever should be fit for the honor of the Common-wealth, and the Venetian Name; hereupon he was adorn'd with divers Noble Ensigns to make the Dignity the more illustrious: Being instal'd Duke, his first care was to free the Republic of the War that was then afoot with *Luiprand*, which he did; and he extended the limits of *Heraclea*, from the River of *Piavo*, unto the little stream call'd *Piavicolle*, and brought the *Aquilines* under his Dominion: In his time, those of *Tourcadés* built a Magnificent Temple to the honor of the *Virgin Mary*, which is yet standing, and in good repair to this day.

717 MARCELLO TEGALIANO succeeded PAULUTIO, who swayed o're the Signory twenty years and upwards; this Duke MARCELLO, got more repute by Peace then Warre, and governed nine yeares.

726 HORASIO call'd URBUS HYPATUS succeeded MARCELLO, the *Longbards* at that time had taken *Ravenna*, and the *Exarch* flying to *Venice* for refuge, by the intercession of the Pope, the Venetians rais'd a considerable Army and took *Ravenna* again, and restor'd it to the *Exarch*, in which exploit PRODEUS of *Vicenza*, a person of renown was slain; this Duke was of a spirit more haughty then ordinary, and making Warre out of a private spleen against *Heraclea*, he was slain by the Citizens of *Venice* upon the eleventh year of his Magistracy: URBUS being thus thrust out of the world, there happen'd an intervall in the Ducall Government, and another kind of Magistrat was chosen, call'd the Master, or Consull of the men at Armes, *Dominico Leo* was the first, and *Cornicula* succeeded him; but the fifth

fifth year after the Creation of this new Magistrat, the whole City was transported with a marvailous desire to have a Duke again.

Hereupon THEADATO HYPATO Son to the slain Duke, was chosen the fourth Doge of *Venice* in an Assembly at *Malamocca*; but there was a powerfull man in the Republic call'd *Galla*, who malign'd him, and having rais'd a Party, surpriz'd him the thirteenth year of his Government, and put out his eyes, managing the businesse with so much Art, that he succeeded him in the Dukedome.

742

GALLA in his second year of his Principality displeasing the people, had his eyes also put out, and was banish'd.

755

DOMINICO MONEGARIO was forthwith appointed Duke, but being of a furious nature, there were yearly Tribunes chosen to assist him, and counterpoise the violence of his spirit, but the fift yeare of his Authority, his eyes were outed of his head, and his Person of his Office.

756

MAURITIO of *Heraclea* was chosen next, who did purchase so much popular love, that he obtain'd that which none of his Predecessors could compasse, which was a Liberry to associat his Son *Giovanni* as Collegue with him in the Principality. In his time a bold Declaration was publish'd, which imported, that the Venetians were a free people, acknowledging neither of the Empires *East* or *West*; This did so move *Charles* of *France* then Emperour, that he commanded his Son *Pepin*, who then governed the affairs of *Italy*, to make furious Warres upon the Venetian Coasts where *Heraclea* and *Equiline* stood, the Inhabitants whercof being frighted thereat, fled to *Malamocca*, and the *Rialto*.

764

GIOVANNI MAURITIO'S Son, succeeded the Father in the Dukedome, there happen'd a shrewd clash 'twixt him and the Bishop of *Grada*, a man eminent for Sanctity; GIOVANNI sent his Son MAURITIO with som troupes to assail the said Bishop, who being taken, he was thrown headlong down from a high Tower: hereupon, *Pepin* by Order from *Charlemain* to expiat the Bishops Bloud, made a fierce warre upon the Venetian Territory: hereupon GIOVANNI and his Son were expell'd the City, and *Heraclea* the place of their Nativity was utterly demolish'd, and OBOLLERIO ANTHEMORIO of *Malamocca* was chosen Duke, Anno Dom. 801.

769

OBELLERIO associated his brother *Beato* for Collegue, and an eager warre happen'd 'twixt *Pepin* and the Republic, who infesting the Sea Frontires up and down, came as far as *Malamocca*, and thinking to passe thence to the *Rialto* to find out the Duke, he vvas beaten back by a Tempest, wherein he lost the greatest part of his Army: About this time the *Lombards* Kingdom was extinguish'd by *Pepin*, 802. There was another battail fought among those Lakes, 'twixt the Venetians and King *Pepin*, where the Venetians had the better again: hereupon a Peace vvas concluded; and French Ambassadors came to the *Rialto*, where having being honorably entertain'd they departed; OBELLERIO vvhovvas cryed up to be the occasion of the former vvarres was cut to peeces by the fury of the people; and his bowells gushing

804

gushing out, they were drawn at length like ropes, and torn up and down the streets, his wife likewise who was of the Bloud Royall of France was slain with him.

809

ANGELO PARTITIATO succeeded next, and he was the first that held the Seat at the *Rialto*, *Heraclea* was repair'd in his time, and call'd *Villa Nuova*, Anno Dom. 809. The Historians rank the *Partitiati* the Noblest Family that came from *Heraclea*. There happen'd a hot war in this Dukes time, twixt *Venice* and the Bishop of *Aquileia*, who had bin declar'd Heretique by Pope *Alexander*, the Venetian took him prisoner: but they gave him his liberty, on condition that they shold send yearly to *Venice* on the same day that the Victory was got twelve wild Boars, which with a Bull shold be kill'd before the Generall Assembly by way of sacrifice; this custom, with other sports continues annually to this day.

And now I may say, that the Republic of *Venice* did passe her Infancy, her Youth may be sayed to follow hereafter, as by her actions will appear.

817

JUSTINIANO was chosen next, in whose time a Fleet was sent to assist *Michael* the Eastern Emperour against the Saracens, who did good service; but the remarkablest passage in this Dukes Government, was, that the body of *St. Mark* was translated from *Alexandria* to *Venice*, where it is kept with great devotion to this day, in a curious Church made of Mosaicall work.

826

GIOVANNI PARTITIATO, brother to JUSTINIANO, was declar'd the next Prince, but having many potent Adversaries, he was surpriz'd neer to *St. Peters* Church, whither he was going to his Devotions, and being disrob'd of the Ornaments of Sovereign Dignity, they shav'd his beard and head; and confin'd him to a Monastery in *Grada*.

836

PIETRO TRADONICO was chosen in his place, he was born at *Pola*, a very ancient City built by the *Colchians*; there came Ambassadors from *Verona*, to desire help of the Republic against some enemies they had, which they obtain'd, and overcame their foes at the Lake of *Benae*, whereupon they sent rich gifts to the Venetian for their succour. *Theodosius* the Greek Emperour, sent his high Admirall to sollicite the Republic for Auxiliaries against the Moors, whereupon she armed sixty Gallies which did do notable exploits, in regard whereof, TRADONICO the Duke of *Venice*, was call'd Protospater (viz. the first father) of the *Græcian* Empire by *Theodosius*: But at the battail of *Cratona* the Greeks not sticking close to their businesse, the Venetian receav'd a shrewd overthrow by the Moors under *Saba* their Captain, who afterwards grew so insolent, that he march'd to *Rome*, and pitifully ranfack'd *S. Peters* Church, with others. A little after Pope *Benedict* came to *Venice*, unto whom, about the year 840, he promis'd the bodies of *S. Pancratius* and *Santa Sabina*; *Lotharius*, also the Emperour did confirm unto *Venice* many extraordinary immunities: but in this Dukes time the Republic receav'd divers illfavor'd successes abroad, and there were odd factions at home against the Duke, in so much, that returning

turning one day from St. *Zacharies* Church he was murdered, but the actors and conspirators thereof were soundly punisht for't: this Duke had govern'd nineteen years.

URSO PARTITIATIO came next to the Ducall Dignity, who had a magnanimous young man to his son, and did divers exploits against the Moors and Saracens in the behalf of the Greek Emperour, so that the Title, of Protospater was confirm'd again to the Duke of *Venice*, who, among other Presents, sent twelve Bells to *Constantinople*, which was the first time that the Greeks us'd Bells, *Anno Dom. 864.* 864

GIOVANNI PARTITIATIO brother to URSO was chosen to govern, but he did voluntarily depose himself, and retire to his own house, having escap'd a dangerous disease. 881

PIETRO CANDIANO succeeded him, who fighting with great courage against the Narentines (the ancient enemies of *Venice*) was slain, having govern'd but six moneths. 887

PIETRO TRIBUNO was chosen next, who was also declar'd Protospater of the Græcian Empire, he added many fortifications for the securing of the City: in this Dukes Reign the *Hunnes* broke into *Italy*, and made cruell havock up and down, and at last resolv'd to besiege the *Rialto*, hereupon a Noble Venetian made this hortatory speech unto the City, 888

That it was now time by their actions to shew themselves valiant men, that a mighty danger did not only threaten their Countrey, but their lives, that they had to do with a people, vvho as little us'd to spare the bodies of the dead, as their lives in battail, yet nerethelesse they were not made of iron, but their bodies might easily be pierced; that they shold call to memory, how the ancient Venetians, vvith a fevv Inhabitants of the Latines, made no difficulty in their Countreys behalf, to expose their lives before the vvails of *Aquileia* against 300000. men, for *Attila* had so many in his Army; that the event of that battail did manifest how vertue and courage is much better in warre then multitudes; that their Ancestors had in the same places where they were now to fight, vanquish'd in times past King *Pepin* follow'd vvith his ovvn Forces, and those of the Emperour his Father, and that then they only fought for their Liberty, but novv they vvere to fight for their Faith, and Blood: hereupon the Venetian gain'd a most signall Victory over the *Hunnes*, which much increas'd the glory of the City, and was of such consequence, that they left *Italy* a while after.

URSO BADOAIRIO succeeded TRIBUNO, he sent his Son *Pietro* to visit the Greek Emperour at *Constantinople*, where being confirm'd Protospater, he receav'd many rich presents; BADOAIRIO in the eleventh year of his Government, did voluntarily depose himself, and became a Monk. 909

PIETRO CANDIANO OF SANUTO succeeded this Voluntary Resignation, in whose time *Justinopoli* came under the Venetian dition.

PIETRO BADOAIRIO follow'd next, who as he return'd from *Greece*, was taken prisoner in *Slavonia*, but ransom'd.

- 920 PIETRO CANDIANO next succeeded, whose Government was somewhat unquiet, yet he debell'd the Narentines, who infested the gulf with pyratieall depredations.
- 941 CANDIANO the fourth Son to PIETRO succeeded, who for som misdemeanours had bin banished, but waxing more wise by years, he was recall'd and created Duke; but herein the City of *Venice* receav'd no small reproach abroad, in regard she had formerly made a solemn Vow never to advance this CANDIANO to the Government, and a Judgement fell upon her presently upon't, for a fire happen'd, which besides the Dukes Palace, burnt down the magnificent Cathedrall Church of the City, and those of *St. Theodore* and *Maria Fubonica*, with above 300. privat houses more. This CANDIANO died most tragically, for the people fell upon him as upon a Tyrant, and he flying into that part of *St. Marks* Church which was left unburnt with his Son in his Arms, they knock'd him down, and cut both in peeces.
- 976 PIETRO URSEOLA with much entreaty of the people was chosen next, who wold not undertake the charge, unless the people wold bind themselves by solemn Oath unto him, which was done; in his time *St. Marks* Church vvas repair'd, with the Ducall Palace; he overcame the Saracens at *Barri*, he had but one Son, and as soon as he vvas born, both he and his wife *Falicia* vow'd perpetuall chastity: In his time *Istria* became Tributary to *Venice*; but at last he voluntarily quitted the Government, and went disguis'd in a Pilgrims habit to *Aquistan* by the perswasion of a great holy man call'd *Guerin*.
- 978 VITALIS CANDIANO succeeded, vvho also deposed himself, and cloister'd himself in *St. Hilarie* Monastery.
- 979 TRIBUNO MEMIO a great vvise man, but of few vvords, vvas chosen in his steed, in vvhose time som civill discords happen'd, and a great feud fell out 'twixt the Republic and *Otho* the Emperour, vvho forbade all the Cities of the Empire any trade vvith the Venetians, but he died not long after, and this Duke also deposed himself voluntarily, and died a Monk.
- 991 PIETRO URSEOLO the second succeeded, in vvhose time the Republic did vvonderfully encrease, for she obtain'd of *Basilus* and *Alexis*, vvho at that time did jointly command the Grecian Empire, to be free from all customes and taxes throughout all their Dominions: Moreover, he suppress'd the Narentines, and reduc'd *Nola* and divers other Cities in *Istria* and *Dalmatia* under the Empire of the Republic, *Lefina* also which vvas the chief rendezvous of the Narentine pyrats was taken by her, and reduc'd to *St. Mark*, as *Spalatro* also, vvith divers other places: In this Dukes time sundry priviledges vvere granted by the Emperour *Otho* to the Venetians, and the Emperour himself came disguis'd, and in nature of a Pilgrime to *St. Marks* Church to *Venice*, where he sojourn'd divers daies vvith the Duke privately, and departed; before he vvvent, he remitted for ever the cloak of cloth of gold, vvvhich the Republic was bound by solemn accord to give yearly to the Emperour, so being presented with divers rich gifts, he went back to *Ravenna*.

OTHO URSEOLO succeeded P I E T R O's son, a young man of great hope, insomuch that the King of *Hungarie* married his daughter unto him; He defeated the Hadrians in a furious conflict betwixt the river *Po* and *Adice*, yet was he dismiss'd of his dignity, and banish'd to *Greece*. 1009

PIETRO CENTRANICO succeeded, who being depos'd by the people, was shorn, and turn'd to a Monastery. 1028

DOMENICO FLABENICO was then chosen, who prevail'd so far with the people, that he got the Family of the *Ursesoli* to be made ever after incapable of the Sovereign Dignity, or of any office in the Republic, and so made the people to be Ministers of his hatred to that house; he abolish'd also the custom of associating for the future any Colleague in the principality, which is carefully observ'd to this day, *Anno Dom.* 1030. 1030

DOMINICO CONTARENO was made the thirtieth Duke of *Venice*, he reduc'd *Zara* to obedience, Pope *Leo* came in his time to *Venice* upon a kind of Pilgrimage to *St. Mark*, which he endow'd with many new privileges. 1041

DOMINICO SILVIO came after him, who was cryed up Duke as he accompanied *Contareno* to his grave; the Normans did about this time much infect the Levant parts, and the Greek Emperor *Nisephorus*, whom the Venetian assists and grows victorious, but afterwards, both the Greeks and Venetians receav'd a notable overthrow at *Durazzo* by the Normans. 1069

VITALIS PHALERIO succeeded, as soon as he was chosen, he propounded to the people, to send Ambassadors to *Constantinople* to the Emperour *Alexis* to obtain that *Dalmatia* and *Croatia* which they had taken from the Usurpers with so much expence of blood and treasure, might by right of war for ever remain to the Venetians, all which was freely condescended unto, so that this PHALERIO was the first Duke, who in his titles did bear these Provinces. The Western Emperor *Henry* came to *Venice* to visit *St. Mark*, where the Annallists write of a great miracle that happen'd. *Anno Dom.* 1082. 1082

VITALIS MICHAELI was next after, in his time a mighty Army of Christians were sent to *Syria* for recovery of the holy Land; he that gave the first hint to the expedition was *Peter* a French Hermit, who gave out, that he had a Vision appear'd to him to that purpose: hereupon Pope *Urban* came expressly to the Councell of Clermont, and made this hortative Oration. 1094

That he was not departed from *Rome*, and come to that holy Assembly for the affairs of the Church of *Rome* only, although it needed greatly to be reform'd, but was stir'd up by another occasion which was more holy, & was likewise more notable; that he did not doubt but those who were there assembled had heard tell of what had befalln long since in *Syria*, and chiefly in the Confines of that Region which is call'd the Holy Land, the unjust usurpation of the holy Sepulcher of our Sovereign Lord Jesus Christ (which he could not utter without tears) by those cruell barbarous Saracens; that there was no Church, Altar, or a-

any other sacred place, but was either raz'd down to the ground by those accursed Mahumetans, or converted to their profane uses; that the religious people dwelling there at such time as the enemy made themselves masters thereof, were constrain'd som for fear of horrible punishment, to renounce the Faith of Jesus Christ; others that wold persever therein were destroy'd by fire and sword, and others by various sorts of torments were miserably consumed: That devout Matrons going thither upon Pilgrimage from all parts of *Europe*, had not bin only forc'd by them to satiate their brutish lust, but likewise in contempt and derision of us were tormented by monstrous embracements, that if that which he had related was not sufficient in their opinions to incite them to take Arms, and to prosecute revenge, He besought them at least to consider, and call to remembrance, how in a short time through the negligence of their Ancestors the forces of *Asia* were increas'd, and besides, how far the Mahumetans had in length and breadth extended their Dominions; how many Countreys they possess'd, who had in times past belong'd to the Roman Empire; but wold to God (sayed he) that the affairs of Christendom were brought to that passe, that we were but to complain of other mens miseries, we have, helas, in our daies seen our *Italy* wholly destroy'd by their incursions and spoils, Castles, Cities, and Churches beaten down, and burnt by those sacrilegious persons: But wherefore do I relate the murders, captivities, rapes, & other tyrannies never heard of before, which this Land hath endur'd a long time, seeing that *Spain* likewise, and her Neighbour *Aquitain*, and all the occidentall Provinces have not only felt the like losse, but having at this day scarce dried up their tears, do stand in fear of the like. And ye O Frenchmen, though this wound be not yet entred into our bowels, no doubt but in regard of your Neighbourhood, you have heard and seen somewhat of that whereof I have now spoken; and the Germans, with other Northwest Nations, who have not as yet felt those losses, ought often to forethink what dangers menace them from the East, nay how neare they are to them already. I know not if the Venetians were not, vvho with strong Garrisons defend the Sea Coasts, and vvho have often repulst this cruell enemy from *Dalmatia* and *Istria*, whether this storm ere this wold have blown into *Hungary* and *Germany*: The power of the Grecian Empire, vvwhich vvhilst her strength and vigor lasted, vvvas vvont to be the bulvvark of Europe on the East and West side, is in such sort ruined, as the Emperour dreams on nothing but on means and forces vvhereby he may conserve his City of *Constantinople*; vvwhich place if vve had lost, as God forbid; vve may easily conjecture hovv great such a losse vvould be, as vvell to all *Europe* as to him: I tremble vvith horror vvhen I do but think vvhat vvill happen, if this fire be not quickly quench'd, vvwhich doth daily more and more kindle: all the miseries vvwhich have befallen those vvhom vve bevvail hang over our heads, men and vvomen shall be reserv'd to satisfie the luxury of those barbarous people, and ye vvill aftervvards lament vvhen 'tvvill be too late, that having had means, you have not oppos'd your selfs against these miseries: it may be you think 'tis impossible this should com to passe,

passé, so did they once who since have felt it, and wold to God we did not feed our selves so often with vain hopes, but twere better Ocouragious spirits while we have strength, councel, aid, power and money ready, and generally, what may give hope of a victory to divert this evident perill, nor is our enterprize above human strength, that *Charles* surnamed the great, in a manner your Countrey-man: O ye *Germans* in regard of the descent of his Ancestors, and your King O ye *Frenchmen*, and the glory of your name did drive the Saracens forth of *Spain* and *Aquittain*, the same *Charles* constrain'd them to quit *Italy*; the same *Charles* of whom ye so much vaunt did recover *Jerusalem* which ye term Holy, and drave thence the enemy, and by how much glory and reputation is great, by so much the more ought it to incite you which are descended from him, to attempt som new exploit which may augment this your ancient renown; if ye do not thus, but give your selves to rest and idlenesse, ye shal not only hazard what your Ancestors have left you, but you shall suffer the Native Countrey of our Sovereign King to your great shame and contempt, with that of all Christendom likewise, to be trodden down by these cruell enemies, and his Sepulcher, Temple and other holy places to be polluted by murthers, rapes, and sacriledges; Arm your selves therfore in time, and prevent this common infamy, purchase to your selves and all *Europe* an assured safety, I think you may easily do it, for by how much your forces surpasse those of *Charles*, if ye all joyntly undertake this voyage, by so much more shall the victory be certain and easie for you; the Victors profit shall be great and inestimable by the spoils of so opulent a Nation, and such rich Kingdoms, but the celestiaall reward shall be much greater, which in the Name of Almighty God, we promise to as many as shall valiantly venture themselves.

This flexanimous speech did so heighten and melt the hearts of all, that a *Croisada* was presently resolv'd upon, whereunto the Republic of *Venice* did contribut 200. vessells of all sorts, which sayl'd to *Ionis* under the conduct of *Hemico Contareno* a Bishop, and *MICHAELI VITALIS* the Dukes son; this Fleet did much advantage that mighty expedition, though som affirm that the Venetians came not to *Asia* till *Jerusalem* was taken; but they being com to *Rhodes*, a shrew'd clash fell twixt them and the *Pisans*, of whom they took 18. Gallies; afterwards they took *Smirna*, and scour'd the seas of *Pamphilia*, *Silicia* and *Syria*; till they came to *Joppa*, which they kept, afterwards having left sufficient gards for their vessells, they came from *Joppa*, and march'd in battail array to *Jerusalem*, and returning thence they took *Ascalon*, *Tyberias*, *Caypha*, with others. About this time *Matilda* a Noble Lady of the *Signesetti* being reinvested in the City of *Ferrara* by the help of *Venice*, she granted unto her freedom for ever of all matters within that City, and a little after Prince *VITALIS* died.

ORDENAPHO PHALERIO was elected in his room, who in the second year of his Government, sent a Fleet of 100. Gallies to *Syria* in poursuance of the *Croisada*, where they took *Ptolemais* and *Sydon*, as also another Town call'd *Faronia* by assault; this made the Emperor

Henry the Fourth, to indolge *Venice* with many priviledges, but a fierce war fell out 'twixt the *Venetians* and *Padouans* a little after, and the *Padouans* being orepowr'd by the *Padouan*, had recourse to the Emperour, who thereupon sent to *Venice*, wishing them to remember how they were sprung from the *Padouans*, therefore they shold greatly erre, unlesse they honor'd the City from which they were descended, and respect the Inhabitants thereof in the same manner, as well bred children do their ancient parents; that the *Padouans* on the other side instead of envying the *Venetian* glory, ought rather to rejoyce to see those who were descended from them, to have pourchased so great fame and repute by Land and Sea; so there was a reconcilment made by the Emperours intercession. About this time, a great part of *Venice* was consum'd by fire, at which time *Malamocca* was almost burnt: upon this dismall accident of fire, there came news, that *Zara* was revolted from *Venice* to *Calamon* King of *Hungary*, but she quickly reduc'd her to obedience, and this gave advantage to the *Venetian* to pierce further into *Croatia*, and take other places, which they keep to this day; but they had ill successe the year following in *Dalmatia*, where the Duke came himself in person, and being too forward in the battail, was kill'd.

1117

DOMINICO MICHAELI succeeded, and *Baldwin* the Second King of *Ierusalem* being taken prisoner by *Balochus* King of the *Parthians*, ther were pittifull complaints sent to *Rome*, that the Holy Land was like to be utterly lost, unlesse speedy supplies were sent: hereupon he moved *Venice* therunto by the intercession of her Patriarch of *Grada* her prime Churchman, who being admitted to the Senat, spake as followeth:

I think, O peeple of *Venice*, that you are not ignorant, what our own Forces in part, and partly those of the rest of *Europe* have don these precedent years for the recovery of *Palestine*, which ye call the Holy Land, for this is the 26. year which so many Princes taking up the Holy Crosse, undertook for the same purpose to invade *Asia*, where by the divine bounty and their valour, all that which stretcheth from *Bythinia* to *Syria* was gain'd, and ye your selfs having taken *Smyrna*, and done other exploits all along the Coasts of *Syria*, did not only gain glory therby, but you have had your share in the Cities; but now ther is news brought how *Baldwin* is carried prisoner to *Cayro*, whereupon his Holinesse thinking the *Venetians* to be most worthy of such an enterprize, hath written to your Prince accordingly: therfore go on ye Noble *Venetians* to preserve that which is already got by you, even that Land where Christ our King was born, did hide himself, wept, was betrayed, taken and crucified, and his most holy body layed in the grave, and who shall com Sovereign Judge one day to enquire of the deeds of all mankind, what Churches, what Monasteries, what Altars do you think can be so agreeable to him as this holy voyage? but because human affairs are of that nature, as ther is almost no publick charity free from ambition, so that haply you demand within your selfs what glory, what recompence may be gain'd by this expedition, certainly it is, and even shall

shall be for our highest repute, that the Venetians only of all *Europe*, have bin able and fit to oppose in a manner all *Asia*; the furthest part of the East shall ring of the Venetian power, *Afric* shall admire it, and *Europe* shall magnifie and Cronicle it; that which we have don formerly in *Asia*, seems to be effected rather by strangers then by us, but now the work shall be solely attributed to you: Moreover, I doubt not but you are all willing to enlarge the *Republic*, but how? by what means will you effect it? in living idly, or rowing up and down these lakes in your little boats? he that thinks so doth greatly deceive himself: the ancient Romans of whom ye vaunt your self to be descended, and whom ye desire to imitat, did not purchase the Empire of the world, by living idly and at ease, but by making one war grow out of another, those whom we relieve, as they have already, so they will give us still a share in the conquer'd Towns and Countrey, depart then in Gods Name, &c.

Upon this Speech, the Venetians resolve to succor the Holy Land, and arm 200. bottomes of all sorts, and MICHAELI the Doge himself goes chief, who sayling to *Ioppa* found it block'd up by the *Barbarians*, but the *Venetians* freed the Town from the siege, and open'd the passage of the Sea, with great slaughter of the enemy, and prizall of many rich booties. Thence the Duke of *Venice* went to *Ierusalem*, where he obtain'd many priviledges for the Republic, as that the Venetians shold in all places of the Kingdom of *Ierusalem*, and Principality of *Antioch* have a particular street apart to plead before their Magistrate, that they shold be free from Taxes through all *Syria*, &c. After this, the most ancient City of *Tyre* was deliver'd up to the Christians by the help of the Venetian, who had the third part of the City awarded him: Besides all these Prerogatives som Historians mention, that it was agreed and confirm'd while the Duke of *Venice* shold make his aboad in *Ierusalem*, he shold enjoy the same honors as the King did. While the Venetian was thus busie in the Holy Land, the Greeks being emulous of his glory, began to raise arms against him, but Prince MICHAELI at his return, took in his passage most of the Greek Ilands, as *Samos*, *Lesbos*, *Andros*, &c. then coming to *Dalmatia* he recover'd *Zara*, and *Spalatro*; so he came back all glorious to *Venice*, where he finish'd his daies a while after. 1130.

Pietro POLLANO succeeded his deceased Father in Law MICHAELI, a notable wise Prince, of that high esteem, that he was chosen Arbiter twixt *Conradus*, and *Emanuel*, the two Emperours of the East and West: add to this wisdom his valour, for he gave a famous defeat to the *Padouans* and *Pisans*, and reduc'd *Corfu* first into subjection.

DOMINICO MOROSINI succeeded POLANI, who reduc'd to obedience the tumultuous *Istrians* in *Pola*, they of *Ancona* were admitted to the Venetian Society; there was also a League struck with *William* King of *Sicilie*, whereby the Venetian got divers priviledges in that Iland in their public marts.

VITALIS MICHAELI succeeded, the second of that Name, he

he sides strongly with the Pope against *Barbarossa* the Emperour; The Republic receives much detriment by the perfidiousness of *Emanuel* the Greek Emperour, by seizing on all the Venetian Marchants up and down without warning given; a great mortality happend in the Venetian Army, because the Greeks had poyson'd the waters, this Duke was murder'd in a popular sedition.

1164

T E B A S T I A N O C Y A N I succeeded, in his time ther was a Greek Emperour *Emanuel*, who perfectly hated the Venetians, and studied nothing more then to do them mischief, and the chiefeft grounds of this hatred was that lighting upon a book of predictions, he was frighted with one verse, which sayeth, that those of *Adria* should one day command *Constantinople*, which was interpreted to be *Venice*. This *Emanuel* drew from her confederacy *Ancona*, but she making a League with *Ariminum*, brought *Ancona* to the former amity.

The Trefure of *Venice* being much exhausted, and melted by reason of so many irons she had in the fire, it was decreed that the moneys of particular men layed in *deposits*, shold be brought to the Trefury of *S. Mark*, to be employ'd and kept in the Name of the Common-wealth as need shall be, untill the City had recover'd her self. Ther happen'd at that time a mortall feud 'twixt Pope *Alexander*, and the Emperour *Frederick*, who favor'd *Ostavian* the Antipope, The Pope fled disguis'd to *Venice*, and continued so a good while in the Hospitall of Charity.

Being discover'd at last, the Venetians sent an Ambassador to the Emperour for an accommodation, the Pope being present when the Credentiall Letters to the Emperour were to be seal'd with wax, he commanded in favour of the Republic, that ever after the Dukes Letters shold be seal'd with lead, which is observ'd ever since. The Venetian Ambassadors being com before *Frederick*, were courteously intreated at first, but so soon as the mention Pope *Alexander*, he fell into a rage, and sayed;

Get you hence; and tell your Prince and people, that *Frederick* the Roman Emperour demandeth his enemy; who is com to them for succour, whom if they send not presently bound hand and foot with a sure garr, he will proclaim them enemies to him and the whole Empire, and that ther is neither alliance or Law of Nations which shall be able to free them from his revenge for such an injury: so persecut which he is resolv'd to overturn all divine and human Laws, that he will suddenly bring his Forces before their City, and contrary to their expectation plant his victorious Eagles in the Market place of *S. Mark*.

C. II

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The Ambassadors at their return to *Venice* having reported all this; they decreed to arm a great number of Ships, and make themselves ever masters of the Sea; but while they were thus preparing, news was brought that *Otho* the Emperours son was entred into the Gulph with 75. Gallies, **C I A N I** the Duke resolv'd to meet him with as many Gallies as were ready, before he launch'd out, the Pope sang Masse himself, with speciall prayers for the prosperity of the enterprize, and honor'd the Duke with the golden Sword, and other Ensignes

signs of Knighthood: so he met with the Imperiall Fleet upon the Coasts of *Istria*, where he utterly defeated the Emperours Son, made him prisoner, and took 48. Gallies besides; the Duke being com so triumphantly ashore, the Pope presented him with a gold ring, saying, *Take C I A N I this ring, and by my advice give it to the Sea, obliging him thereby unto thee, which both thou and thy Successors likewise shall for ever hereafter yearly do on this same day, to the end posterity may know, that ye have in times past by right of warr purchas'd the entire Dominion over the Sea, making it subject unto you, as a woman is to her husband.*

The Venetians suffer'd *Otho* upon his parole to go to his Father; promising to return howsoever, being com into the Emperours presence, he embrac'd him with the more joy, because he had bin doubtfull whether he had bin alive or no; *Otho* began to discourse of the battail, referring the defeat to have happen'd by Gods providence, saying further, that he had not omitted any thing that might becom a carefull Captain, and that ther wanted nothing to have obtain'd a victory, but a just quarrell; it behov'd his Majesty then, to believe that God was powerfull therein, not men, seeing so mighty an Army as theirs was, and not being slow to fight, was defeated by a few who were not half their number; and howsoever they might well overthrow and destroy human Forces, yet 'twas impossible to surmount Divine: therefore he did most humbly beseech his Cæsarean Majesty no more to trouble *Alexander* for his place, whose quarrell he might perceive by the successe, to be maintain'd not only by men, but by God himself, alleging further, that he had already disquieted him with the Forces of the Empire, and sought to put him from his seat, but all in vain; that therefore he shold do a deed pleasing to all men, and worthy of a Christian, if all hatred being forgotten, it would please him to change his mind, and after assurance taken from the Venetians of his safe conduct, he wold be pleas'd to visit the Pope, and give open satisfaction.

Otho's advice proceeding so ingeniously from him did mightily prevail with *Frederick*, wherupon he resolv'd to go to *Venice*, and *P I E T R O C I A N I* the Dukes Son, was sent with six Gallies to attend him at *Ravenna*: being arriv'd at *Venice*, the Emperour without more ado went to see the Pope, who tarried for him at *S. Marks* Gate in the highest gravity of State: when the Emperour came nere him, he threw off his purple robe, and crept on his knees to his Holinesses feet, which he humbly kiss'd; The Pope rais'd him up and embrac'd him, then both going to the Church, went to the high Altar where that famous Table of Massie gold, which useth to be in *S. Marks* Trefury, was taken out of purpose, and so a perfect reconcilement vvas made. From *Venice* the Pope and *Frederick* went to *Ancona*, attended by Prince *C I A N I*; the City sent out two Canopies, one for the Pope, the other for the Emperour, but the Pope commanded a third to be brought for the Prince of *Venice*, allowving, that for ever after he and his Successors shold use one at all Solemnities; *Alexander* being com to Rome, among other triumphs there were other silver Trumpets made to welcom him whereof he

he took eight and gave the Prince of *Venice*, which the Republic should use ever after in all solemnities. *CIANI* taking his leave of the Pope, and being return'd to *Venice*, Mariners were appointed to receive him in the *Bucenturo*, being landed, he had a white burning Taper carried before him, which was given him by the Pope for the first gift, besides the Canopy, the eight silver Trumpets, the golden Sword, with other Ensigns.

CIANI now drooping with age, remov'd himself to *S. George's* Monastery, where in a few daies he died, making *S. Marks* Church his heir.

This Prince, as he was one of the stoutest, so was he the Saint-likest man of all the Dukes that preceded him or follow'd him; by the rich Legacies he left, *S. Marks* Church was wonderfully adorn'd, and because the sayd Church gives occasion of wonderment to all strangers that behold her, I held this an apposit place to bring her in, and make her appear to the curious Reader in her own colours, according to the description I received from others, and my own observation.

The Description of S. Marks Church.

THis Church, as divers other, is not so much magnified for her largeness, as for her riches; she is built in form of a crosse, whose corners are highly vaulted and cover'd with bright lead, as all the rest is which is discern'd of Seamen higher then all the buildings of the City above sixscore stades distance: The whole Bulk is supported besides with most curious Arches, contignated and joyn'd together by marvailous Art; the inner part from the middle to the highest part thereof glistereth with gold, and the concavity of the vaults is enriched with divers goodly and ancient pictures, made most of them, after the Greek manner, which, with the labour to behold them in respect of their height, do present unto the Spectator by their grave and venerable aspect, a kind of awe intermingled with piety and Religion; that which is from the gilding down to the pavement, is so well compass'd and joyn'd together with goodly Tables of Marble, as by their pleasant veins in form of rayes, the eyes of the beholders are rather fed then satisfied; the seats below are of an extraordinary red stone like to Porphyrie, the pavement all of Marble engraven with divers figures, wholly different and of various colours: ther are sundry Columns and Tables of Parian, Spartan, & Numidian work, that environ the seats on both sides the Quire. The coming in to the Church on both sides, is in a manner of the same trimming, while gilded Arches are sustain'd without, by more then 300. exquisit Pillers, not so much for their greatness as their diversity of colours: the space between those Pillers, being fill'd with choice Tables of Marble: on the height of this entrance four great brazen horses all gilded are to be seen, so lively, as if they seem'd to neigh, and making towards you, which are accounted rare peeces, but not of our time: All this bears the highest top of the Church divided into six steeples, ev'ry of which is rear'd up like a pyramis, and
hath

hath on the sharpest point thereof a white Marble Statue of a naked man standing up: Divers other representations delightfull to the eye, and wrought with exceeding skill do beautifie the spaces betwixt the Steeple; the whole work, as well on the right as the left hand, is of the same substance and workmanship, and all that which is vaulted underneath is cover'd with gold. In sum, ther is no place in the whole Church either within or without, but is either deck'd with Marble, Gold, or precious Stones, so that the two Columnes of Alabaster which stand nere to the high Altar, and the Chalcedony Stones, which are to be seen in the midst of the pavement, with the Mosaicall works, we counted the least curiosities.

AURIA MARIPIETRO was surrogated in the room of SEBASTIAN CIANI, or *Ziani*, in whose time things prosper'd well with the Republic in the affairs of *Syria*. 1329

HENRICO DANDULO was then declar'd Prince, in whose time the Republic did mightily encrease their bounds both of her renown and Territories; the *Pisani* who had taken *Pola* were defeated: *Baldwin* Erl of *Flanders*, with other Princes that went for the succour of the Holy-Land arriv'd all at *Venice*, where they found magnificent welcome, they had so much money given them in presents as they wold have borrow'd, and 60. vessells vvere provided them to transport their forces; but the Venetians had this benefit for their money, that those forces help'd them to recover *istria*, which by the raising of *Zara* was revolted from them; these Princes sail towards *Constantinople*, where principally by the help of the Venetian the City was taken, *Baldwin* Erl of *Flanders* declared Empeior of the East, and *Tomaso Morosino* was made Patriarch of *Constantinople* by the Venetians: Moreover, they had the Ile of *Candie* given them at that time, which they hold ever since; this vvas about the year 1200. 1192

PIETRO CIANI son to SEBASTIAN, was created Duke next, and was Erl of *Arba* at that time; in his time fell out the first warr twixt *Venice* and *Genoa*, who had many Ships in course that turn'd pyrats; *Giovanni Trevisano* was sent with nine Gallies well provided against them, who took twelve of the Pyrats Vessells and brought them prize: in this Dukes reign ther was a Colony sent to *Corfu*, and the possession of *Candie* was further secur'd by a new Colony which suppress'd divers insurrections; this Duke being struck in years, having rul'd twenty two years, depos'd himself voluntarily, and retiring to *S. Georges* Monastery died soon after. 1205

GIACOMO TEPULO was chosen in his place, the first thing he did was the suppression of the *Candiots* who had mutined; ther was a great Fleet employed also to *Constantinople* against the Greeks, in regard that it was alledg'd the Venetians had a Right and Title to part of the Empire, and so was bound to succour the chief seat therof: The Republic assisted also in this Dukes time the Genoveses against the Emperour *Frederick* and the *Pisani*, and suppress'd the fift rebellion of *Zara*. 1228

MARINO MOROSINI was afterwards chosen Duke, but by a 1248

manner of Election, he took in *Padova* *Philippo Fontano* Bishop of *Ravenna*, being sent Legat from Pope *Gregory* to *Venice*, propounding everlasting life for recompence to all those who should take arms with him against the Tyrant *Eccelin* an upstart, who did much mischief up and down *Italie*. The Venetians presently levied Forces and assisted the Pope to quell this new monster, for which service the Pope granted that the Dean of *S. Marks* should in high solemnities use a mitre and carry a Pastorall staffe, which none of their Predecessors could ever obtain before.

1252

RAINERI ZENO succeeded *MOROSINI*; in the beginning of whose government an ill favour'd clasp happen'd 'twixt the Venetians and Genoways about a Church which was allow'd them both in *Ptolemais*, commonly call'd *Acon*, or *Acce*; the Pope to decide the differences sent unto them, that since divine Service was the same, and common to them both in that Church, the Church likewise ought to be so; but this wold not heal the wound, for the Genoways had seized upon the Church, and made a kind of Fort of it. Hereupon the Venetians rigg'd a Fleet of thirty Gallies under *Lorenzo Tepulo*, who coming to the haven of *Ptolemais*, broak the chain and furiously charg'd the *Genoa* ships, and two Gallies, being in the harbour, and having taken and despoil'd them of all their tackling, they burnt them in the Port. They went afterward to the Church in question call'd *sancta Laba*, which the Genoways had fortified and seized on it; after this ther was another hot encounter 'twixt them where the Genoways had the worst again. The Christians in *Syria* were much divided in regard of this feud 'twixt *Venice* and *Genoa*, which the Pope endeavour'd to reconcile, but could not. The Italians who were in *Jerusalem* favour'd *Venice*, but those of *Tyre* held to *Genoa*; at *Trapani* the Venetian gave the Genoway another shrewd defeat, wherin were taken twenty foure Gallies, and many thousand prisoners carried away, and 1200 slain. Yet the Genoways made head again, and sailing along the coasts of *Candy* they took *Cydon* now call'd *Canea*, and pillag'd it, but the Venetian met them a while after, and was soundly reveng'd of them.

This Warre with *Genoa* put the Republic to extraordinary expence, whereupon a new impost was levied upon white meats, wher-at there was a small insurrection, which was quickly suppress'd, and the Authors severely punished.

1268

LORENZO TEPULO upon the death of *ZENO* succeeded, the Pope with the Kings of *France* and *Sicilie* did labour to reconcile matters 'twixt the Venetian and Genoway, in regard this quarrell betwixt them made things go to wreck among the Christians in *Syria*, but nothing could prevail. The Genoways scour'd the Seas, so that no corn could be brought to *Venice*, either from *Apuleia*, or *Sirily*, which pinch'd the City: a truce at last was made between the two Republics, but a new war did happen 'twixt *Venice* and *Bologna* about Trade, which lasted three years; at last under the conduct of *Maria Gradonico* an army was sent, who utterly defeated the *Bolonians*, which made them seek for peace.

G I A-

GIACOMO CONTARENI succeeded TEPULO, at the beginning of whose Government ther was a hot quarrell for the time 'twixt the Republic and them of *Ancona* about imposts; the Pope sided with them, in regard they were feodaries to the Church and slighted the Venetian Ambassador, yet *Venice* wold not make peace with *Ancona* till she had receav'd satisfaction from her, though it cost *S. Mark* very dear, in regard that the Republic had lost a whole Fleet by a Tempest during this warr.

1274

GIOVANNI DANDULO came after CONTARENI, at which time the Sea did in such sort overflow the City, that it was held by som very prodigious, and their augury prov'd tru, for soon after ensued an Earthquake, and a warr with the Patriark of *Aquileia*, wherein the Republic had no great successe; she had worse luck in *Syria*, for the King of *Babylon* besieg'd *Acce*, which the Venetian with the Popes souldiers defended a good while, but no aid coming unto them from the rest of the Princes of Christendom, the City was taken, and so the Christian name grew to be almost wholly extinct in *Syria*; the yeere 1290.

1280

PIETRO GRADONICO succeeded DANDULO, and the Truee being expired with the Genoways, ther was a fiercer war renew'd then ever. In running over this history of the Venetians, divers matters offer themselves so conformable to those of the ancient Romans that possibly may be, as well in point of counsell, travail, successe, accidents of fortune, and sundry other traverses, but among all, the Venetian war with *Genoa* seems to have great resemblance with those which the Romans had in times pass'd with *Carthage*; for the neer neighbourhood, as it most often happens, did not beget this Emulation betwixt them, or caus'd the war, because they are as far distant one from the other, as are the *Tyrrhene* and *Libian* Seas 'twixt *Italy* and *Africk*; to cleer which point, it will not be amisse to give a little short description of the situation of both their Countreys.

1290

Italy is a promontory stretching from the *Alpes*, whose height on the one side extending towards the South, serves her for a Rampart; she is besides water'd towards the West with the *Ligustik* and *Tyrrhene* Seas, and on the East with the *Adriatic* and *Ionian*, from whence the waves begin to mingle themselves together, and to make her the more strong, they wold fain shut up the *Alpes* the more closely; in the *Adrian* Gulph stands *Venice*; on the o her side, the *Ligustik* Sea laboureth as it were to hold fast the feet of the *Apennin* Hills, and within this turning lieth the City of *Genoa*, emulous of the Venetian greatness, in such sort as they are in a manner opposit one to the other; Prudent nature did set betwixt *Rome* and *Carthage* a vast Sea, which might serve for a barr to keep them from jussing one another, as also to cool their fury; but to *Venice* and *Genoa* she hath not only interpos'd the breadth of *Italy*, but the huge tops of the *Apennin*, stretching from *Liguria* to *Ancona*, from whence being beaten by the waves of the Sea, they soon turn towards the Mount *Gargan*; then on a sudden as if they fear'd the Sea, they go on to the furthest parts of *Italy*, to subdue in a manner those waves they had so often shun'd; but neither distance of the sea could restrain the wrath of

Rome and Carthage one against the other, nor could the difficult accesses of the Apennin Hil keep Venice and Genoa from busling one with the other. The Romans held themselves descended of the Trojans, the Venetians pretend the same originall, the Libians mingled themselves with the Phœnicians, and the Genoways say they were likewise deriv'd from them; emulation of great achievements did first stir up the former with desire of more Dominion; On these two hinges the quarrell mov'd betwixt these two Republics, Rome and Carthage fell out first about Sicily; Venice and Genoa about Ptolemais or Acire; The Romans notwithstanding they were victors, were oft times in greater danger then the Carthaginians whom they had vanquish'd; the Venetian hath been sometimes in the same condition; those two people fought above a hundred years together, and though they had Truces sometimes, yet the hostility still remain'd; these likewise have had sundry cessations of arms, though not of enmity; In induciis semper manebat bellum; But as Carthage to Rome, so Genoa say'd to Venice at last.

About this time Andrew King of Hungary came to Venice, his mother having bin of the Family of the *Morefina*, a Venetian race.

Ther happen'd at this time a notable navall fight twixt Venice and Genoa nere *Corfu*, where the Venetians lost almost their whole Fleet, and Andrew *Dandolo* their Admirall was taken prisoner with five thousand more, and carried to Genoa; this victory was got by a reserve of fifteen Gallies the Genoways had, which at the fagg end of the fight came fresh out, as those reserve of five hundred men which Don *John* of Austria kept fresh under hatches for the last push. This defeat lay heavy upon Venice, for she lost then above sixty Gallies, yet she appear'd again shortly after, and about the streight of *Gallipoli* she lost again sixteen Gallies, and the Genoway a little after took *Canea* in *Candy*; but a peace was at last mediated twixt Venice and Genoa.

Upon these ill successes abroad, ther were some treasons detected in Venice, but quickly suppress'd; *Padoa* also stir'd, but to little purpose. The next yeer, notwithstanding all the late losses, the Republic sends a considerable Fleet against *Paleologus* the Greek Emperour, whereof *Justiniano* was Generall, because he refus'd to pay the Republic a great sum of money which he ow'd her, this Fleet sailing into the *Pontic* Sea, quickly brought *Paleologus* to reason & to repay the mony. This victroy did much heighten the spirits of Venice, which had somewhat languish'd for her great losses in the *Ligustic* war with Genoa; she also made her self Mistress of *Ferrara* a little after, which being a City fewdetary to the Church of Rome, the Pope excommunicated Venice, interdicting her from the use of the Sacraments, which drew a great deal of odium upon her, so that she thought it high time to restore *Ferrara* to the Popes Legat, yet she wold pause a little further upon't. About this time, the famous conspiracy of *Baiamonti Tepulo* was suppress'd, who was kill'd by a Venetian woman out of a zeal to her Countrey, who had an honorable Pension ever after during life.

MARINI GEORGO was now created the fiftieth Duke of Venice; in his time *Zara* revolted the sixth time from the Republic, but was reduc'd.

GIOVANNI SOVRANZA succeeded GEORGIO, who had govern'd but ten moneths; the City which had bin a good while anathematiz'd, sent *Fran. isco Dandolo* to the Pope; this Nobleman being admitted to the presence of *Clement*, who perfectly hated *Venice* because of *Ferrara*, by a wonderfull example of piety to his Countrey, and love to Religion, continued a long time on the ground before the Popes Table; with an iron chain about his head like a dog, untill the Excommunication was taken off, which was don upon those acts of penitence: Hereupon a little after *Venice* had a notable successe against *Genoa* in the *Pontik* Sea, where above thirty bottomes were sunk and taken by *JUSTINIANO* the Generall.

1304

FRANCISCO DANDULO who had bin Ambassador with the Pope, and by that penance formerly spoken of had got the Excommunication taken off, was elected the next Duke, the *Polani* and the *Valesians* who had bin a long time subject to the Patriark of *Aquileia*, did voluntarily yeeld themselves under the protection of *Venice*; About this time the Republic did divers exploits upon the Coasts of *Syria* against the *Turks*, for securing of Navigation upon those Coasts; she likewise did many feats in *Lombardy*, her Army took *Padua* and *Bergamo*, *Brescia* also fell under her protection.

1329

BARTILMEO GRADONICO was chosen next, and a little after ther arose one night a most furious Tempest, which caus'd such an inundation three foot deep above the streets of the City: In this Dukes time ther came Ambassadors from *England*, craving aid against *Philip* the French King, whom the *Genoways*, who were mortall enemies to *Venice*, did favour, but nothing could be obtain'd, and this was the first time that ther was any acquaintance 'twixt *England* and *Venice*, which was in the year 1332. ther was another revolt in *Candie* suppress'd.

1332

ANDREA DANDULO came next to the principality, a man of extraordinary parts of learning as well as valour, for he compil'd the Venetian story in two styles. The Republic sent a Fleet against the Turk, which took *Smyrna* again. There was an Ambassadour sent by the Senat to the King of *Babylon* concerning the Venetians free Trade into *Egypt*, which though stood upon by the Pope, in regard they were Infidells, was settled.

1356

Zara had rebell'd now the seventh time, but was reduced, and *Lewis* King of *Hungarie* repuls'd. There happen'd a fearfull earthquake in *Venice* about this time, which overturn'd divers steeples and palaces; This Earthquake usher'd in a fearfull contagion which brought the City to a pitifull desolation for the time, the said earthquake lasting fifteen dayes by intermissions.

This terrible earthquake gives me occasion to desire leave of the Reader to step a little aside out of the great Road of this History, and make a short excursion to give a touch of the causes of these dreadfull effects of nature, of these tremblings and shiverings of the earth, or rather Aguish shaking fits, wherunto we find her body is as subiect as the body of men or lions, who are observed to have their monthly paroxismes.

The *Babylonian* Philosophers think the cause of these impetuous motions hapnesh

hapneth by the force of som Planets meeting with the Sun in the region of the earth: others hold it to be a vapour a long time engendring in som concavities of the earth, and restrain'd from sallying forth into the air; others affirme that 'tis a wind penn'd up in the entrails of the earth; Pliny sayeth that the earth never quaketh, but when the Sea is very calm and the air so still and clear, as the birds can hardly bear themselves up, and that the winds are then shut up in the bowells of the earth, their improper station. He addeth further that an earthquake is nothing else but as thunder in the air, or an overture and crevice in the earth, or as lightning breaking forth violently and making irruptions from the midst of the clouds, the wind inclos'd therein, and struggling to com forth by force. The Stoicks speak of divers sorts of Earthquakes that cause the gapings of the earth, the swellings of the water, and boiling of the same, a horrid confus'd sound com only precedeth and accompanieth this quaking, somtimes like to the roaring of a Bull, somtimes to the lamentable cry of som humane creature, or like the clattering of armor, according to the quality of the matter which is inclos'd, or according to the form of the cave, and hole, or Spelunca, through which it passeth, which resounds in vaulty and hollow places: It waxeth hot, in sharp and dry places, and causeth defluxions in those that are moist and humid. Now amongst all Earthquakes, the agitation of the waters is most dangerous, for lightning is not so hurtfull, nor the shaking of buildings, or when the earth is puff'd up, or falleth down by an interchangeable motion, because the one keeps back the other. The safest buildings are those upon vaults, the corners of walls, and on bridges leaning one against another; beside, brick buildings are lesse dangerous in such accidents, your skilfull Navigators can foretell these earthquakes, at such time as they perceive the waves to swell on a sudden without a wind, and likewise those on land may likewise foretell them when they behold birds in a maze to stay their flight, or when waters in wells are troubled more than ordinary, having a bad unfavoury smell: all these are presages of such hideous motions: Pherecydes the Syrian drawing water out of a well, foretold an Earthquake, and so did Anaximander Milesius, and the truest signs are, either when the wind blows not, or when the Sea and Region of the Air are calm, for an Earthquake never hapneth, when the wind blows, or the Sea swells.

This strange Earthquake in *Venice*, among other direfull effects it produc'd, caus'd that many hundreds of women miscarried in childbed, and a plague follow'd, which reduc'd the City to such a height of misery, that it was almost depopulated, wherupon the Senat made a decree, that as many as wold com to dwell at *Venice*, shold after that they had sojourn'd there two years be free Citizens: Moreover, during this Contagion, divers places on firm land revolted from the Republic, which were reduc'd again.

The Genoway also went about to deprive the Venetians of all trafic in the Pontic Seas, and therupon took divers Candiot Marchants: hereupon *Marco Marosino* Admirall of the Adriatic Sea, went abroad in course with thirty five Gallies to fish for some Genoways, and meeting with twelve in the Haven of *Carista*, which lieth towards *Negrepont*, they surpriz'd them, being richly laden with Merchandizes, and carried

carried them to *Venice*, this defeat was of that consequence, that the Senat decreed that the same day the Genoways were o'rethrown at *Charissa* shold be ever after celebrated for a holy day.

Ther happen'd the year after a terrible nocturnall fight 'twixt *Venice* and *Genoa* at the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and though ther were Auxiliaries both from the King of *Aragon*, (with whom the Republic had made a League a little before) and from the Greeck Emperour also, yet the Venetian had the worst of it; But the yeer after, about the Coasts of *Sardinia* she handsomly met the *Genoways*, and linking her Gallies together, fought with that pertinacity and resolution that she took thirty two Gallies, which so weakned the *Genoways*, that he was forc'd to fly to the *Viscont of Milan* to implore help, and put her self as it were under his protection; a little after the Venetian gain'd another victory of the *Genoways* nere the *Morea*.

The *Viscont of Milan* appearing for *Genoa*, *Venice* made a counter-balancing League with the King of *Boheme*, and that he shold invade the Territories of *Milan*, with a Land Army to find him work to do.

MARINI PHALERIO was chosen the next Duke, who was Erl of *Valuarin*; the first yeer of his government the Republic had a shrewd losse in the Il: of *Sapientia* nere *Morea*, where *Pagano Doria*, who was the new Admirall of *Genoa*, surpriz'd *Pisani* the Venetian Generall, and gave him an overthrow; this PHALERIO by a very bloudy way thought to make himself King of *Venice*; but it was detected, and he with his complices put to death.

1354

GIOVANNI GRADONICO, surnamed *Naso*, succeeded *Phalerio*, in whose government a peace after five years cruentous war was concluded with the *Genoways* and their Allies; but another Land war did rise 'twixt the King of *Hungary*, and the Common-wealth in *Dalmatia*.

1356

GIOVANNI DELPHINO succeeded *Gradonico*, who made a peace more necessary then honourable with the King of *Hungary*; for the Republie was to renounce all right to *Dalmatia*, and that the King for his part shold redeliver whatsoever was taken from them in *Istria*.

1358

LORENZO CELSO followed after, in whose time the Duke of *Austria* came to see *Venice*, and after him the King of *Cyprus*; the Candiot rebell and continue so a good vvhile, at last they were reduc'd by arms, the news wherof being brought to *Venice*, prisoners were set at liberty, divers maids were married out of the Tresury of *S. Mark*, Tilts and Tournaments continued for divers daies in *S. Marks* place, with divers other exultations and triumph.

1363

MARCO CORNARI succeeded *Celso*, with many triumphs, but before the years end som tumults arise in *Candie* which were suppress'd with much difficulty.

1366

ANDREA CONTARENI follow'd *Cornari*, and refusing to accept the principality, he was threatned unto it: *Tenedos* did then yeeld to the Venetian; but in this Dukes time ther happen'd terrible wars 'twixt the Venetians and the King of *Hungary*, as also with the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and interchangeable overthrows were given on both sides, but by the mediation of the Patriarch of *Aquileia* a peace was concluded; but the

1368

the rancor of the *Genoway* broak out again, and after some hostile encounters a peace vvas concluded by the intercession of the Duke of *Savoy*; afterwards the Republic leagues with the King of *Cyprus*.

1382

MICHAEL MOROSINI succeeded next, who lasted but four moneths in his principality.

ANTONIO VENIERI then succeeds, in whose time ther fell out a fierce warre in *Lombardy*, which was but collaterall only to the Venetians, yet they were the chiefest sticklers therein, and Accommodators at last.

1400

MICHAELI STENO Procurator of *S. Mark* then succeeded, and presently the fire broak out twixt *Venice* and *Genoa* again, *Bouciqualt* a notable resolut Frenchman was Generall of the *Genoways*, yet the Venetian still put them to the worse: *Vicenza* came then under the protection of *S. Mark*, who sent a Garrison thither. *Verona* also one of the most famous Cities in *Lombardy*, put her self under the Venetians, which much heightned the glory of the Republic: add hereunto that *Padoua* also was brought by force of arms under her subjection: All things being afterwards settled in a firm peace, ther came forty gentlemen from *Verona* to *Venice* all clothed in white, wherupon the Senat commanded a Theater to be erected of purpose in *S. Marks* place, where the Duke with his Family clothed also all in white were ready to receive them. The *Veronois* being all com to the Theatet, after they had saluted the Prince and the Senat, they layed down their public Ensigns, and the keys of their City gate, at their feet, entreating them to accept thereof, beseeching God that the proffer might be both to *Venice* and *Verona* as fortunate and profitable as that was an assured pledge of their fidelity, as well public as particular towards the Venetians, requesting them of their accustomed goodnesse to continue in the preservation, defence and maintenance of them, their City, their means, and fortunes, with all other, both divine and humane matters; and as for their unfained love towards them, they durst freely say and affirm, that they wold be extremely sorry, if among so many people as did obey them, any shold go before them in love, duty and affection.

These Ambassadors being courteously entertain'd, were assur'd by the Duke, that as long as they continued to be such as they promised, the Senat wold ere long let them know, that the greatest happinesse which can befall those who have not means to defend themselves, is to be shrowded under a lawfull government, which they shold find to be as pleasing (in regard they had recourse to the only Fort of Liberty, and cast off a Tyrants yolk) as a safe harbour useth to be to a man that hath escaped a terrible tempest; they might therefore depart when they pleas'd, and take with them the Venetian Ensigns (and in so saying the Duke gave them to their *prolocutor*) which they were to erect in the midst of their City; he wish'd they might prove to themselves & to the Venetians ever happy; and being so erected to hold them in reverence: then he will'd them to execute justice, in regard they had in times past'd obey'd the commands of a Tyrant: so they were dismiss'd; those of *Padoua* following their example, came soon after, only with this difference, that

that in lieu of white the *Padonans* were cloth'd in purple, *Anno Dom.* 1405.

THOMASO MOCENIGO was next chosen, and ther being great dissentions rais'd 'twixt the Bishop of *Aquile*, and them of *Udine*, the Venetians recover *Feltre*, *Belluna* and other places. The *Udinois* did also yeeld themselves to the Republic, with the whole Countrey of the Patrians in *Friuli*; But upon these notable successes by Land, ther happen'd a most raging fire in *Venice*, which burnt the Dukes Palace, and melted all the Lead upon *S. Marks* Church, which was contiguous. The fire being quench'd, the Senat decreed that no man under pain of forfeiting a thousand ducats, shold dare to propound to pull down the old palace, and reedifie it more sumptuously; The Prince then preferring the honor of the City to his own private profit, brought the same sum to the Senat, requesting that they wold permit the fore part of the Ducall palace might be reedifi'd in a more magnificent manner, as was befitting the majesty of the Republic, and so willingly forfeited his thousand Ducats: so the work was done accordingly, but the Duke died before 'twas finish'd.

1413

FRANCISCO FOSCARD was then elected Duke, the same year ther was warres begun against *Philip* Duke of *Milan*, and the Republic concluded a League with the Florentines against him, which League consisted of these heads, that the Venetians and Florentines shold arm at their own common charge one thousand six hundred horse and eight thousand foot, they shold furnish two Navall armies, with the one the Venetians shold sail up the River *Po* to resist the Forces of *Philip*, the Florentines along the River of *Genoa*, that none shold speak of peace till the Venetians shold command it. That all the Cities, Forts, and Towns taken on the confines of *Flaminia*, shold belong to the Florentine, the other shold be joyn'd to the Venetian State, or given to whom they pleased.

1423

Lorenzo the Florentine Ambassadour did herupon cast himself at the Dukes feet, and with a loud voice sayed, that the Florentine people shold be ever mindfull of such a signall benefit, and besought God that the glorie of *Venice* might increase, and if ever it happen'd that the Venetian people shold have need, the Florentines wold be ever ready with their utmost means to aid the Republic: divers others, as *Amadeo* Duke of *Savoy*, King *Alonso* and *Syena* entred into this League. This enforc'd the Duke of *Milan* to a peace, which imported that he shold quit to the Venetians *Brescia* with her confines, together with that part of *Cremona's* Territories which is contiguous to the River *Olio*, as also that part of *Bergamo* which stretcheth towards the River *Adise*. The Marquesse of *Monferrat* being oppress'd fled to *Venice* for refuge, who restored him to his Territories.

There arriv'd about this time *John Paleologus* the Grecian Emperour, *Joseph* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with the Prince of *Morea*, to confer with the Pope about matters of Religion; They went to *Ferrara* to find out *Eugenius* the Pope, who was a Venetian born, and this conference produced good effects, and an union for the time.

N

About

About this time there came to *Venice* the Bishop of *Aquileia* and *Pietro Barbe* Cardinall, that was Pope afterwards, that had splendid entertainment. But the Emperour *Frederick*, with his wife *Loenora*, had more magnificent reception; for besides the *Buccentoro* richly hung with cloth of gold, wherein the Prince and Senators were, divers great vessells were set forth besides, whose poores were all new gilded, in which were many hundreds of the Venetian *Clarissimi*, the *Ganzari* and *Patischerme* that are lesser vessells which were numberlesse, were as allantly deck'd, wherein were the common Citizens, who did strive who shold exceed one another in bravery; the whole City was hung up and down as they pass'd with Cloth of gold and rich tapestry, in every corner muscally instruments, songs and melodious voices were heard. The Empress landed a little while after in the same glory, attended by two hundred of the prime Venetian Ladies, she was presented with an Imperial crown of gold set with rich stones, and a coat for a little child, with a cradle cloth of purple, powdered with pearls, in regard 'twas thought she was with child, &c.

The Emperour being gone, the *Senat* to furnish the warres of *Lombardy*, decreed that all Officers, as well in the City as abroad, Judges, Registers, and others of meaner quality under great Officers, who in any kind had pensions of the Republic, shold pay a certain sum, and that other sorts of *Clarissimi* shold serve the Signiory gratis for six months. In this Dukes time a cunning Candiote, by sapping under the Church got into *S. Marks* Trefury, and stole thence jewells and other things to a mighty value, but he was detected by his companion before he could get away, and hang'd betwixt the two columnes in *S. Marks* place.

In this Dukes time also was *Constantinople* won by the Turk, in regard of the sloth, supineness and stupidity of the rest of the Christian Princes, but especially for the frowardnesse of the Constantinopolitans themselves, who would not give timely aid to the Emperor, out of a base kind of covetousnesse, and with *Constantinople* the whole Greek Empire perish'd, which had stood above eleven hundred yeers; this gave an alarm to all *Italy*, and caus'd a generall peace about *Anno Dom. 1459*. *Mahomet* at the taking of *Constantinople* did endeavour to oblige the Venetians more then any other Christian Nation ther, wherefore in the generall slaughter he sav'd them, knowing that none was more powerfull to do him hurt then *Venice*.

1457

PASCHALIS MARIPETRO succeeded *Foscari*, who continued in the Principality longest of any of his sixty five Predecessors, for he govern'd above thirty six years, and being stricken in age he made a voluntary resignation to *Paschalis*, who preserv'd the Republic in peace all his life time: in his government happen'd that universal Earthquake, which shook most parts of *Italy*, *Anno Dom. 1460*.

1462

CHRISTOPHORO MAURO was next elected, the Ile of *Lemnos* was delivered to the Venetians in this Dukes time, and *Oenos* was taken, but the Republic had very ill luck in the *Morea*, and before *Corinth*, moreover they lost *Negrepont*.

1471

MICOLAO TRONO succeeded *Moro*; whose short government was

was very fortunate, because the Republic in his time made a League with the King of Persia, and united the Island of Cyprus to their Dominions; the Pope at his time sent a Fleet of Gallies to second the enterprises of the Venetians in the Greek Seas, and being met, Mocenigo the Generall for the Republic, made this Speech to the Popes Legat, who was Admirall for the Church.

I am sure most excellent and reverend Father, that you are not ignorant how valiantly the Venetians have hitherto born themselves for the Christian Faith; This is the ninth year we have fought by Sea and Land against this cruel enemy, without the assistance of any Christian Prince but King Ferdinand only; It is needlesse to rehearse the losses, travails and dangers which we have sustain'd, for ther is no place in all Morea, no shore in Greece, nor Island in all the Ionian and Egean Seas which is not mingled with our blood; or with that of our enemies; we have not spar'd any labour or expence, and we heartily wish that whatsoever we do now, or shall hereafter execute, may be for the Weal of Christendom; we have lately with fire and sword wasted Eolia and Caria, two rich Provinces of the enemies, and now we hope by your happy conjunction to do some nobler enterprize; It rests therefore on your part to teach us what you know to be profitable for Christendome, and prescribe us what to execute, and we hold it our parts to execute your commands.

The Legat answer'd, *It is sufficiently known with what Zeal and affection on the Noble Venetians have till this present defended Christian Religion, and how by their valour and industry they have preserv'd the whole Commonwealths, Islands and Cities, but for your own particular: Generall Mocenigo, I must say, that although other Commanders have done valiantly; yet you have not only comport'd your self valiantly, but fortunately, and if I may so say, divinely: This being thus, I entreat you to go on as you have begun, and let not our conduct, or that of any one-els, interrupt the course of your happy proceedings; For my self, as becometh a Churchman, I will pray unto God and his Saints, that all your enterprises may succeed prosperously, and those troupes which I have brought with me, shall follow your commands.*

Mocenigo had forty six Gallies of the Republic under his command, twenty of the Popes, and fifteen of King Ferdinands; He infested the Turks up and down in divers places, taking sundry places and prizes; among others he took Sichin and Seleucia, where the Turks being too confident of their strength, cryed out from over the walls to Mocenigo, *get ye home O Venetians, and command the Sea and fishes, but leave the Empire of the Land to Ottoman.*

Mocenigo having taken Seleucia went after to Cyprus, where he understood that James the King was sick of a Dysentery, and being come to visit him, he entreated the King to be of good cheer, and with patience to undergo the force of his malady, who made him answer:

I know very well most excellent Captain, and already feel, that by the violent torment of my disease, I am in great danger of life; and not to flatter my self, I have no hope to escape; therefore I make my dearest

wife with the child she bears in her body, mine heirs, and she, as thou knowest, is daughter to *Marco Cornari*, and being adopted by the Venetian Senat, was by them given me in marriage: If I die, whereof I make no question, I recommend my Wife, Issue, and Kingdom to *Venice*, therefore I heartily entreat thee, in regard of our friendship, and for the greatnesse of the Venetian State (if it com to that) that thou wold'st defend and keep both her selfe, Issue and Kingdome from all wrong and oppression. *Mocenigo* answer'd:

'Thy body, most Royall King, is yet in a good estate, and thou in the prime of thine Age, which may put thee in good hope of a speedy recovery, but if it shold fall out otherwise, which God forbid, I beseech thee be confident, that neither my self nor the Venetian forces will be wanting to thee or thine.

Mocenigo parting from *Cyprus*, sayl'd towards the Ilands nere *Licia*, where making incursions into the firm land, he resolv'd to besiege *Mirra*, which he took and plundred, thence he sayl'd to *Flisca*, where the King of *Cyprus* daughter, the Lady *Charlotta* allied to the Duke of *Savoy*, sent to crave assistance of him against *James* her base brother, who was the son of a Conculbin. *Mocenigo's* answer was remarkable: He sent her word, that in the Republics name he wold do the Lady *Charlotta* all favour, yet he greatly wonders, that she did not remember how that the right of Kingdoms is rather debated by the Sword, then by Law, and that the Iland of *Cyprus* had not bin only taken from her, but also from the *Genoways* who then held part thereof: For his part he knew how that the wife of the late King, the adoptif daughter of the Venetian Senat, being left with child, had bin, together with the fruit of her womb, made heirs by the deceased King before his death in his bearing, therefore he told them plainly, he wold espouse the quarrell of the pregnant Queen *Dowager*, who he hop'd wold shortly bring forth a young King.

'A while asrer the Popes Legat being revok'd, and taking his leave of *Mocenigo*, spake unto him thus; I take my leave of thee O thou valiant man, and will be the public witnesse and trumpet of thy heroick deeds, and if God shall send me safe to *Italy*, not only the Pope and the most reverend Colledge of Cardinalls, but all Europe, with the Princes and remotest Nations of Christendom, shall understand what *Venice* under thy conduct, skill and counsell hath done against our common enemy the Turk, in *Asia*, *Licia*, and *Pamphilia*: go forward brave Captain, as thou hast begun, to enlarge the Venetian glory, and bear up the banners of the Crosse, thereby to immortalize thy own name: I beseech Almighty God to favour all thy attempts, and I hope 'twil come so to passe, that all the losses which Christendome hath sustained by this barbarous enemy, shall e're long by thy own valour, and to their ruine, be fully compensated. After this, *Mocenigo* was Godfather to the young Prince, and made Governour of *Cyprus*.

NICOLAO MARCELLO succeeded afterwards, in whose principality divers things prospered on the Republics side in *Macedonia*.

PIETRO MOCENIGO was chosen next, who being *S. Marks* Admirall, 1474
for many years did notable feats by Land and Sea, but in the compasse
of a year and two months he gave up the Ghost and his Government.

ANDREA VENDRAMMO succeeded, the Turks besiege *Croia* and 1475
are worsted, but they ravag'd and burnt the Countrey of *Friuli*, and
the fire was so violent, that it was seen from som of the turrets of
Venice.

GIOVANNI MOCENIGO was next elected Duke, and shortly after 1477
there was a peate concluded with *Ottoman* the Turk upon these condi-
tions, that the Venetians shold have free and safe trafic into the Pontick
Seas, and that *Ottoman* shold have *Lemnos* and *Scutary* given him up: He
afterwards took *Otranto* in *Calabria* wherby he fill'd all *Italy* with a terror
of invasion; In this Dukes time the Island *Vegia* in *Dalmatia* gave her
self up to *Venice*; In this Dukes time there was an eager warre begun,
and prosecuted with much heat 'twixt *Venice* and *Ferrara*, *Malateste* was
Generall to the Republic, who did many notable exploits, and brought
the Ferrarois to a very low ebb, at which time Pope *Sixtus* enjoyn'd
the Venetians to lay down their arms by his Nuncio. But the Senat an-
swer'd somewhat roundly, that the Republic was so far from entertain-
ing this war without his Holines consent, as they did it at first by his
instigation, that as then so now, they did prefer peace not only before
warr, but before victory, so it were seasonably sought, and not on
such conditions as might make their lenity to be interpreted indifere-
tion: that they were confident his Holinesse actions had no privat ends,
but such as imported the common good of Christendome, only in
this it was notorious to the whole world, that he deakt more subtilly
then sincerely, that for twenty years, wherein both by Land and Sea
they had bin singled out by dreadfull *Ottoman*, none of the Princes of
Italy contributed one drop of bloud towards the quenching of this
neighbour flame, but seem'd deaf to all sollicitations, and lame to all
assistance: But in this privat cause of *Ferrara*, those who shrank back
from the public quarrell could all bandy together, not as if they wold
arbitrat, but enforce a peace; that they humbly desird his Holinesse to
ponder this businesse temperatly, which others did passionatly, and
to let his own understanding advise him whither it more concern'd
him to favour the Venetians or the Ferrarois, as for them they were re-
solv'd to prosecut that war, which by his advice they had undertaken,
hoping the successe wold prove as happy, as the cause was just and ho-
norable.

This was the substance of the Venetians Answer, whereat the Pope
was so incens'd, that he excommunicated the Doge, and the Senat, ha-
ving leagur'd himself with *Frederick*, and *Atfonso* Duke of *Calabria*, who
came with two thousand men for succour of *Ferrara*, among whom
were four hundred Turks, which he brought from *Otranto*; but they a
while after ran away to the Venetians, which though it was some ad-
vantage unto them, yet they had an ill-favour'd disaster in the City at
that time, for the Dukes Palace was half burnt down.

The Republic having many potent enemies banded against Her, by the instigation of the Pope, employ'd Ambassadors to the French Army, and German Princes, with others, to have a Generall Councell call'd, wherein it might be lawfull to complain of the Pope or any other. Herupon a while after Pope *Sixtus* apprehending some fears, a Treaty was set on foot for a peace, which was quickly concluded; The Venetians a little before, had taken *Gallipoli* in *Calabria*; and though they lost neither honour or territory during this warr, yet in lesse than two years it cost the Republic nere upon three millions.

1485

MARCO BARBADICO succeeded next, in whose time a trade was begun with *Portugall*, to which purpose the Republic sent an Ambassador expressly to *Lisbon*, Anno Dom. 1485.

When this Duke was upon his death-bed, there came a great Ambassador from *Bajazet* the Turkish Emperor with rich presents unto him, but he enjoy'd them little; He was buried with greater solemnity than ordinary, and the ceremonies which were us'd then continue constant to this day at the interment of Venetian Doges, which is thus. After the Duke is dead, he is unbowell'd, his body embalm'd, and laid under a Canopie of gold, with his gilt sword and spuries revers'd; he is publicly kept in the palace for three whole dayes, then all the Companies in the City, which are as many as ther be Trades, do with their banners in solemn order go before the body, after them followeth the Clergy, next to them the mourners, who are in great multitudes in sad funestous manner: last of all come the Senat cloth'd in scarlet and purple, to demonstrat that the City which is free, doth never in mourning habit follow the Exequies of any Prince, how vertuous soever: In this manner and habit so soon as the body is brought into the Church they sit round about it, whilst the memory of the deceased Prince is recommended to the people in a funerall Oration: from thence the Senators returning to the Palace, do publish the first Assembly for the creation of a new Duke.

1486

AUGUSTIN BARBADICO, brother, to the defunct, and Procurator of *S. Mark*, succeeded; most of the Princes of *Germany* bandy against *Venice*, who met them about *Trent*, where *Sanseverino* her gallant Generall, the best soldier of those times, was utterly routed and drown'd.

About this time there was a Fleet sent for the garding of *Cyprus*, for divers aim'd at that dainty Iland, therefore *Georao Cornari* was sent thither by the Senat to induce the widdow Queen his sister (& adopted daughter to *Venice*) to remit the government to the Senat, & retire to *Venice*, to live among her kindred in contentment, ease, & honor. The Queen wonder'd at her brothers Proposition, saying, that she wold not for a world part with so sweet a Kingdom, and that the Senat might be satisfied to have it after her death: her brother replied with this charming subtile Oration, *Intreating her not to make more account of Cyprus, than of her own dear Countrey, because that worldly affairs being variable and inconstant, it might in short space com to passe that she might be expuls'd, it being so thought on already by divers potent Lords, and her self envied by many of her Subjects,*
who

who disdain'd to be govern'd by a woman, therefore one only means was left her to prevent all these mischiefs, which was, seeing she had no children to transmit the Government of the Realm to the Venetian State now in her life time; he added further that the Republic was well contented she should rule as long as the times were quiet, and free from suspitions. But now when all her Neighbours wait for an occasion, and lay snares to surprize Her, the Senat hath thought this onely remedy most expedient; but if she fear'd not these dangers, he besought her to consider, what she was likely to have fallen into the year before, for had not the Republic rescued her with their Gallies, she had bin in danger to have bin carried Captive to Constantinople; It is good to foresee that which som odd accident or small error may hurl us into, and to prevent it, fortune is blind and volable, nor can we ever prevent our enemies designs, nor can our friends be alwaies ready to help us when we want them; there is a great distance by Land, and a great Sea 'twixt the Adriatic Gulph and Cyprus; This, Madam you ought to remember and timely consider, that though nothing enforce'd you therunto, yet what greater honor, or more lasting glory can you leave behind you, then to have bequeath'd to your own Countrey so flourishing a Kingdome, and that Venice was augmented by a child of her own; you shall still be a Queen, and truly if the case were mine, I should desire rather to see my greatnesse with such safety in Cyprus out of the bosom of my own Countrey: Never was Princeesse so welcom to Venice as you will be, you know you are to thank the Senat for being Queen, but if you deny this motion, you will seem to acknowledge it very little; In a word, I being your brother, and one who ought to have som interest in you, if you dismiss me with a deniall, the world will judge it is not you have done it, but my counsell, whereby I shall incur a high displeasure; therefore I pray Madam consider well of it, there is nothing more worthy of praise then to know how to entertain Fortune modestly when she smiles on us, and not to desire to be still on the wheels top, &c.

Cornari having thus discours'd to the Queen, he prevail'd so far with her, that melting into tears, she made him this answer: Brother, if this be your opinion, I wil conform to it, and wil strive to overmaster my self, but Venice shall thank you for Cyprus, not me. So she was conducted to Venice, and receav'd with all imaginable state after she had rul'd Cyprus fifteen years.

A little after this, the King of Tremisen in Affrique sent to Venice his Ambassador, to entrust som Venetian gentlemen to see Justice done to the Venetian Subjects, who liv'd in three of his Cities, therupon Lodowico Piramane was sent, who had the hundredth penny upon all Marchandize for his salary.

Not long after the Patriarch of Aquileia died at Rome, and Hermolao Barbaro being there Ambassador for the Republic, the Pope confer'd that high Ecclesiastic Dignity upon him; and made him Cardinal.

This being known at Venice, notwithstanding that Hermolao was a Minister of great desert, and had acquainted the Senat hereof; yet because there was an expresse Law, forbidding all Venetian gentlemen, being Ambassadors at Rome, to receave any obliging Dignity of the Pope, during the time of his Legation, the Senat took the audacious infringing

fringing of this Law in ill part; and though he were rich, well allied, and had great friends, they sent expresse command, that he shold resign the Patriarkship again to the Pope, if not, they wold take from his Father the Procuratorship of *S. Mark*, and confiscat all his estate; the Father died before the years end, of meer resentment, and the Son having compos'd many excellent books, died a little after of a Squinancy.

Venice was now very quiet, when *Charles* the VIII. of *France* sent three Ambassadors one after the other to the Duke, that their King being resolv'd to com to *Italy*, to conquer the Kingdome of *Naples*, which by hereditary right belong'd to him, he desir'd to know the Venetians inclination towards him, and whither they wold continue the former League and Amity; The Senat answer'd the Ambassador, that the Signory did ever prefer peace before war, and did now desire it more then ever, therefore they could wish, that their King being now in a perfect peace, wold suffer the Princes of *Italy* to be so too. Afterwards the French King being daily push'd on by *Lewis* forza the Duke of *Milan*, and the Prince of *Salerno* then an Exile in *France*, send *Philip* of *Comines* again to *Venice*, who propos'd to the Senat, that if they wold joyn with them in the recovery of *Naples*, they shold have a considerable share of the Kingdome, if not, that they shold persever in their former friendship.

The Senat answer'd, That the King was so potent and well provided with all warlike necessaries, that he needed no help from them, therefore they determin'd according to the laudable custome of their Ancestors, not to stir, who never made war but upon constraint: Moreover, they desir'd not to have any share in that Kingdome whereunto they had no claim; for the rest, they sayed, they wold still make high esteem of his friendship.

The Republic had at this time a great Fleet upon the Coasts of *Slavonia*, because they understood *Bajazet* the great Turk began to arm; at which time there came a solemn Embassie from *Florence* to crave their advice how they shold behave themselves twixt the Kings of *Naples* and *France*, the latter of which had sent to desire passage through their Countrey. The Senat answer'd:

That in so difficult a businesse, subject to such a world of accidents, they knew not so suddenly what was best to be done, and though they loved the one better then the other, they durst not deliver their Opinion, because that fortune is commonly Mistresse in warre, and that it usually falls out, that matters done by chance and adventure, do oftentimes prosper better then those which are premeditated, and beaten upon the anvill of long premeditation; therefore they ought to ask counsell of none but Almighty God, who only knew what was best for men to embrace or avoid.

The French King rushing into *Italy*, found no resistance scarce, till he had crown'd himself King of *Naples*.

The Venetians were at this time put mightily to their plunges and reaches of policy, because it was not wholesom for them or *Italy*, that the

the French shold grow so powerfull, therefore the King of the Romans, the Spaniards, and the Duke of *Milan*, who had fallen from the French, sending their Ambassadors unto them, they strike a League to repress the French proceedings. The Venetian takes *Manapoli*, *Pulignano*, and *Mola*, and partly by arms, partly policy, the French are driven out of *Italy*; yet *Charles* the VIII. being dead, they make a new League with King *Lewis* of *France* against the Duke of *Milan* upon these conditions, that *Lodowick Sforza* being elected King, shold have *Milan*, and the Republic *Cremona* and *Abdua*, and it came so to passe.

The Republic had but sorry successes against the Turk in this Dukes time, for at *Cephaloma* they receav'd a terrible blow, yet she reduc'd at last that Iland to a perfect subjection.

LEONARDO LOREDANO succeeded *Barbarico*; in his time the French and Portugall assist the Signory against the Turk, so that a peace ensued; The Republic receav'd a mighty wound in her Commerce about this time, in regard that the Portugalls had found a passage to the *East Indies*, by the cape of good hope, and so brought home in their Carraks those spices which *Venice* was us'd to fetch from *Alexandria*, and dispencc up and down *Europe*. 1503.

1491

But Pope *Julius* the II. gave her a worse blow, by drawing a most heavy war upon the Republic, in regard she wold not part with *Faenza* and *Rimini*, for which She offer'd to pay him any rent in quality of Tenant, alledging that it was dangerous for the Signory in regard of their Situation, that they shold be in any other hands: Hereupon, that notable League at *Cambray* was privately struck against *Venice*, wherein ther were Confederates, the Pope himself, the Emperour, the King of *France*, the Kings of *Aragon*, and *Spain*, with divers others: It was given out, that they met there to accommode the businesse of the Duke of *Guelldres*, but that was only a pretext, which the Republic could not smell out.

The Republic by this huge powerfull League, had lost almost all the Towns she had in the firm Land of *Lombardy*, as far as *Padoua*; The great Turk offer'd the Republic aid in this exigent, but she modestly refus'd any: Besides other places, she receav'd a most fearfull overthrow hard by *Abdua*, being thus oppress'd with the spirituall Armes of *Rome*, and most of the temporall Armes of *Europe*, rather then break, she complemented with the Emperour, and bow'd to the Pope, by delivering him those places aforefayed in *Flaminia*: Among others, the Cardinall of *Tork* in *England* did do her good Offices to the Pope, as her *Annales* make mention: The French having taken *Milan*, and other places, grew insolent in *Italy*; therefore there was a new confederacy made 'twixt the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Venetians; at *Ravenna* the French became Victors in a great battail, but a little after the Swisse coming in as Confederates against them, they were totally routed and driven over the Hills again. The Venetians recover'd *Crema*, and the Spaniard having taken *Brescia*, and delaying to render it to *Venice*, there was a new occasion offer'd for the Republic to make a League with *France* again against the Spaniard, and *Francis* the first by their help regain'd *Milan*.

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The Republic was never so driven to her shifts as she was in the time of this Duke, in divers traverses of warr, and confederacies against her, which she dissolv'd by pure policy, more then any power.

She was afterwards much persecuted by Pope and Emperour, in so much that *Maximilian* sent to *Selim* the new great Turk an Ambassador, to invite him to a warr against the Venetians, and to invade their Sea Coasts, while he assaulted them by Land.

Pope *Leo* sent *Petro Bembo* upon a solemn Embassie to the Republic, that they shold break with the French, and League with the Emperour and Spaniards against them; whereunto the *Senat* made this grave answer:

‘ That his Holinesse Ambassador was greatly pleasing to the *senat*,
 ‘ as well in respect of himself, whose vertue and particular affection to-
 ‘ wards their Countrey was sufficiently known to all men, as likewise in
 ‘ regard of the *Prince* who sent him, seeing the Republic had ever born
 ‘ all reverence and honour to the Sovereign Bishops of *Rome*, but they
 ‘ more particularly inclin'd to Pope *Leo*; that the *Senat* had ever most
 ‘ highly esteem'd his good and wholesom Counsell, but the mischief
 ‘ was, that by how much they above all others had desir'd his friend-
 ‘ ship and alliance in that incertainty of all things, by so much more
 ‘ were they continually kept from it; and albeit, their love was never
 ‘ disjoyn'd from him, yet their forces were ever divided; as then they
 ‘ did humbly thank his Holinesse, and confes'd themselves much bound
 ‘ unto him, in that he had bin ever ready by divers good offices to em-
 ‘ brace and favour their cause, even so likewise they were extremely
 ‘ griev'd, that they could not follow his Counsell, it being their an-
 ‘ cient custome not to leave an old friend for a new, specially being not
 ‘ provok'd thereunto by any wrong, their ancient Fathers thinking that
 ‘ alone to be profitable, which was most honest; therefore they could
 ‘ not without great blemish of their reputation break or abandon the al-
 ‘ liance which they had already contracted with the French; And if the
 ‘ Pope wold call to mind the ancient benefits of the French Kings, not
 ‘ only to the Venetian Common-wealth, but likewise to the Church,
 ‘ and consider the wealth and power of that Kingdome, he wold not
 ‘ only excuse but commend the Venetian Councel, and be desirous him-
 ‘ self to follow it, because that being back'd by the French Forces, with
 ‘ those of the Venetian, ther was likelihood, that he shold be abler to
 ‘ lay surer foundations, as well for the state of the Church, as for the
 ‘ greatnesse and advancement of his own house.

Hereupon the Republic sent Ambassadors, both to *Lewis* of *France*, and *Henry* of *England*, to congratulat their alliance (for old *Lewis* had married young *Henries* Sister) and to streighten this League betwixt them against the Emperour.

The Republic likewise employed two Ambassadors to confirm the peace with the great Turk *Selim*, who had newly subdued the *Mammalukes* and *Soldan*, that had bin Lords of the *Gran Cayre* and *Egypt* above three hundred years, Anno 1516.

The French King sent to borrow one hundred thousand Crowns of
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the Venetians towards the end of this Dukes Government, which was done accordingly. *Lewis* King of *Hungary* sent two Ambassadors unto them, who procured both men and money against the Turk.

Prince *Loredano* having sat at the Stern of the Republic twenty years in most tempestuous times, payed nature her last debt and made way for

ANTONIO GRIMANI, who about the beginning of his Government was solicited, that the Republic of *Venice* might be Godmother to a daughter of *France*. The face of affairs in Christendom being much chang'd at the coming in of *Charles* the fifth the Emperor, the Venetians wav'd their league with *France* (who was ready to invade *Italy* for the Dutchy of *Milan*) and enter'd into an alliance with the Emperor, cashiering *Trivulzio*, who was too much affected to the French, and making the Duke of *Vrbis* their generall, and this was done principally by Pope *Adrian* the fourth his intercession, who was a low Dutchman having bin a Brewers son in *Vtrecht*, and Schoolmaster to *Charles* the fifth: in this Dukes time the Isle of *Rhodes* was taken by the Turk to the great detriment of Christendom, and dishonor to her Princes, 1522.

1521

ANDREA GRITTI succeeded GRIMANI, about the beginning of whose principality the Venetians depart from the French, and for important reasons of State enter into league with the Pope and Emperor; the French King makes himself again master of *Milan*, and of divers other places in *Italy*. The Venetians upon emergent reasons of State leave the Emperor, and renew their confederacy with the French, but during this League, the French King was taken prisoner at *Pavia*, and carried into *Spain*, and after foure years captivity dismissed: *Rome* is beleaguerr'd by the Spaniards, the walls scal'd by the Duke of *Bourbon*, who in the action breath'd his last, and Pope *Clement* besieg'd in the Castle of *S. Angelo*; the King of *England* Hen. VIII. was one of the principall instruments both of the French King and Popes enlargement.

1523

The French rush again 'ore the hills to *Italy*, take *Pavia* and destroy it; The Venetians seize *Monopolis* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Doria* Admirall for the French o'recoms the Imperiall Fleet, but he turn'd afterwards to the Emperour.

The Vicount of *Turen* coms upon a splendid Embassie to *Venice* in the Popes behalf, to entreat them that they wold satisfie the Pope by rendition of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*: the Senat alledg'd their just Titles to them, having receiv'd the one from *Obizzo Polente* Lord thereof more than four hundred years pass'd; and that *Cervia* was fallen to the Republic by the Testament of *Dominico Malateste*, for which she was to pay yearly som godly Legacies, which they continued for performance of the Testators will: they represented further, how that if they had bin desirous to possesse Towns belonging to other men, they wold not have refus'd the offer of those of *Furl*, and of other Cities of *Romania*, who sought much to be under their obedience; nor wold they have defended or maintain'd with such extraordinary cost and danger the City of *Bologna*, with others belonging to his Holiness,

lineſs, nor have kept them from him, and that thoſe Cities had bin taken at ſuch time as the Pope had quitted the League, and that they might juſtly now detain them for the ſame occaſion; moreover they had ſpent a great maſſe of Treſure in that warr which thoſe Cities werenot able to recompence; they deſired that the King wold take it into ſerious conſideration how much it might import him, if thoſe ſo commodious Cities ſhould be quitted by his friends and confederats to be given to the Pope, who ſtood ſo coldly affected to the Crown of *France*, nay even into the hands of the Imperials, ſeeing that it was apparent how the Pope either by his own proper motion, or through fear did wholly depend upon the Emperour, that he was beſides to conſider of their intereſt, and the wrong which wold be offer'd their confederats, *viſ.* the Florentines and the Duke of *Ferrara*, whoqueſtionleſſe wold be greatly diſtaſted hereat, and wold cool that heat which puſheth them on to the affairs of the League: and moreover how that theſe Towns did ſerve for a bridle to contain the Pope within his bounds, ſeeing that without them he wold already have ſhewed himſelf an open friend to the Emperour. A little after the Republic lends the King of *France*, & the Duke of *Milan* a conſiderable ſum of money; *Chañillon* comes Ambaſſador to *Venice* and *Brundusium* in *Apulia*, is taken by her Admirall: Herupon a Treaty of peace was appointed by all parties to be at *Cambray*, and the Republic employ'd *Lodovico Falieri* to the King of *England* to entreat him, That ſince he had ever ſhew'd himſelf a royall friend to the Republic, his Maſteſty wold be pleas'd, as at all other times, to take into his protection, and to procure that in thoſe affairs which were handled at *Cambray*, nothing might be concluded to the hurt and prejudice of the Republic, nor to the liberty of *Italy*, whereof many years before he had to his immortall praiſe taken upon him the defence, while preparations were made on all ſides to diſturb her, if not deſtroy her.

About the ſag end of this Dukes government *Solyman* makes warre upon the *Hungary*, and takes *Buda*; he warr'd alſo with the Venetians, but againſt them he had not ſo good ſucceſſe; for they took *ſcardona* from him, and *Caſſelnaovo* in *Dalmatia*: upon this a ſolemne League was ſtruck twixt the Pope, the Emperour and the Republic, againſt the common enemy.

In this Dukes time the Republic ſent to the Pope that ſhe might have the nomination of her own Biſhops, for which he had made divers propoſalls formerly, but could get no definitive answer; herupon ther was a ſeizure made of the temporalities of divers Biſhopricks which the Pope had collated, wherat his Holineſs was much incens'd. The Senat conſidering the importance and difficulty of the buſineſs, did deliberat thereon in open Councell, where opinions were very different, but for the preſent it was decreed, that in favour of the Pope the temporalities of thoſe who had bin promoted by his Holineſs ſhould be ſurrendred them in the Cities under their jurisdiction; yet nevertheleſs they did not give over their demands, ſaying that what they had then done was for the extraordinary reſpect and reverence they bare to Pope

Pope *Clement*, hoping that hereafter they wold grant them more than they crav'd: The Pope nevertheless, who at first made shew that he demanded nothing els but that, stood after upon greater difficulties.

Solyman having made peace with the Persian, intended to assail Christendome on all sides by Sea and Land: hereupon he entertain'd *Barbarossa* the famous pyrat, and sent word to the Venetians, that they shold use him no more as a Pyrat, but one of his own Port.

To bear up against *Solyman*, the Senat thought fit to levy the Tenth upon the Clergy, but they could not obtain it of the Pope, who made answer, that he had a purpose to levy two Tenth upon the goods of all the Italian Clergy, to employ them for the relief of the Cantons of the Catholic Swiss, against the other apostat Cantons, who threatned them with war.

A little after *Venice* made her self Mistresse of a Town in *Dalmatia* call'd *Obrovatza*, a place of considerable strength and advantage.

PIETRO LANDI succeeded *Gritti*, who had continued Prince nere upon sixteen years, *Guy Vbaldo* Duke of *Vrbis*, the old Duke being dead, was chosen Generall of the Republic by Land; he was allow'd ten Captains pay, and four thousand Ducats yearly Salary besides: The Senat at that time decreed that four hundred Artificers of the City shold be intoll'd, with whom four times a year, the Gallies appointed for that purpose shold be mann'd, that they might all of them row together, which they commonly call'd *Regater*, and pensions were appointed them who had serv'd so thrice: This decree pass'd, to the end they might be assur'd to have men alwaies fit and ready to mann any number of Gallies. Ther happen'd a mighty dearth of corn through all *Italy* in this Dukes time, which lighted more heavy upon *Venice* then any place (among other causes) which necessitated her to make peace with the Turk, but the Marquis of *Guaſta* Governor of *Milan*, and the Lord of *Annebals* Marshall of *France*, and her Generall in *Piemont*, came to *Venice* to divert her; they had extraordinary magnificent entertainment, both for the quality of their own persons, and of the great Princes that sent them.

1539

The Marquis of *Guaſta* coming to the Senat, told them that he was sent by his Imperiall Majesty to acquaint them, as his trusty and inward friends, with the enterview that he intended to have with the French King, and in *Flanders* with King *Ferdinand* his Brother, and the Queen his Sister, who govern'd ther for him, assuring them, that in the same Assembly of Princes affairs wold be handled concerning the universall good of *Christendom*, and the particulrr advantage of that Republic, which the Emperour did as much desire as well as of his own Estates; and that now they were ready to assail the Turks with very great Forces; The Emperour therefore was desirous to know the Senats will and intentions therein, what provision they wold judge to be necessary, and what they wold have him to do for his part towards the better managing of this great design.

Marshall *Annebals* spake to the same effect, protesting his Kings good will

will to the common peace of Christendome, and particularly of the Common-wealth of *Ve ice*.

Answer was made by the Senat to the Marquis and the Marshall, that their arrival was very pleasing and acceptable, as well in respect of the Princes whom they represented, as for their own persons, for which, and for the honour and friendship which they did professe to the Republic, they did infinitely thank their Princes. The news of the good correspondence and certain hopes of peace 'twixt two such mighty Kings had much rejoyc'd them, and so much the more, by how much greater the profit was which all Christendome should receive thereby: But as for the Declaration of their meaning and intentions towards the present occasions, it might be sufficiently known by their actions, how for their parts they had for three years born the brunt and burthen of the warr against the common enemy, and being invited by those hopes, they were ready again to embark and expose themselves: yet nevertheless all might well perceive, that they were not able alone to hold out long against the power of so potent a Foe, therefore what could they say more: their necessity being known to all men, how ev'ry one knew that Barbarossa was in the Gulph of Lepanto, with a Fleet of eighty Gallies, and intended to winter there, whereby the whole world might perceive, to what danger the State of the Common-wealth was expos'd, and by consequence all Christendom, unless the Navall Armies might be ready by the month of February to divert his designs, all which things were exactly to be thought upon, and speedily remedied.

This was an Answer without a resolution. nor could those two great Ambassadors get any other at all, for the sagacious Senat smelt out whereunto these practises tended, and what the Emperors true designs were, namely to feed the French with vain hopes of a restitution of the Duchy of Milan, and the Venetians by propounding unto them to make preparation against the Turk, though he cared not to perform either, but only thereby to win time, by being assur'd of the quiet of the French Arms, and diverting that King from warr.

But the Republic was constrain'd a little after to conclude a peace with the Turk by surrendry of Naples in Peloponnesus, and Malvesia into his hands.

The Inhabitants of Napoli and Malvesia were exceedingly afflicted that the Republic wold give them up to the Turk, therefore Generall Mocenigo made unto them this consolatory tender Oration.

The fatherly love wherewith Venice hath alwaies embrac'd and receav'd you from the beginning under her rule and protection, and then gently govern'd you for a long time, may very easily perswade you, that the very same which I am enjoin'd to deliver unto you, viz. that this City and Malvesia your Neighbour are to be deliver'd to Solyman, hath bin done rather upon extreme necessity, than by any freedom of will: Divers things may make you clearly perceive how dearly the Republic ever lov'd you, specially these last wars, wherein for your relief, she hath oftentimes expos'd her self to the greatest dangers: she hath furnish'd you with money, souldiers, and munition, for fear you should fall into the enemies power, who with barbarous cruelty wold have bath'd his hands in your blood: but what greater demonstration of love can the Republic make you in this present exigent, then to promise all those who
are

are willing to depart, another fit dwelling place wherein they may safely live under her protection, and to help, favour, and nourish them. The ancient Sages said, how that the same place may be term'd ones Countrey where he hath his well being: Now what better thing is ther then to live under the moderat government of a good Princee. Divers Nations (their numbers growing ever great at home) have of their free wills departed from their Native Countrey, and followed Fortune; In miseries to have an assured refuge carrieth with it such a comfort, as a man doth oft times remember things pass'd with greater contentation: we cannot remove hence, the houses and walls of the City, but you may bear away what's dearer unto you, your goods & persons shall be preserv'd, your posterities shall propagat in another place, and who knows but you may beget such generous children that may revenge your wrongs som other day. so great is the change of mundane affairs, wherunto the greatest Empires are as subject as the smallest villages, you may be well assured, that the Republic will retain still a desire to take up arms at all times when she sees that Christian Princes will seriously unite, that ther may be som probability to do good.

Whilst Mocenigo did thus comfort them, both men and women did shed warm tears, being all melted into love as well as sorrow.

Not long after the French King finding that he could get nothing but promises instead of performances, for the surrendry of Milan from the Emperor Charles; he employ'd one Rincon Ambassador to Solymán for aid against Francis of France; this Rincon was near Pavia in Italy slain by the Emperours Forces, as he was on his way to Turkey, therupon Polin was sent, whom the Republic did furnish with a Gallie to carry him to Constantinople: He negotiated so well that Solymán sent a Fleet of sixscore Gallies which took Reggio in Calabria, with the City of Nice, and so arrives at Marseilles. The Republic was eagerly importun'd both by the Emperor and French King to enter into a League with them, but nothing could put off from their Neutrality.

FRANCISCO DONATO was chosen after the death of Lande, in his time Cardinall Grimani, the people complaining of his oppressions, his temporall dominion was taken from him, and restor'd to the Republic: in his time also Friar George Bishop of Varadine, and Cardinall, suspected to hold intelligence with the Turk, was massacred.

MARC ANTONIO TREVISANO was next elected, in whose time notwithstanding that all the Princes of Italy were engaged in some warre or other, yet the Republic was peacefull and quiet; This Duke being at Masse one morning, died suddenly of a faintnesse in the head.

FRANCISCO VENIERI succeeded next, in whose time Charles the Emperour being tired with labour, and weary of the world, resign'd the Empire to his brother Ferdinand, and all the rest of his Dominions to his son Philip the second, reserving to himself an annuity of a hundred thousand crowns, and so retir'd to a Monastery: som write that he was sorry for it afterwards, and that his son shold say, That the second day of his resignation was the first day of his repentance, this happen'd in the year 1554.

1543.

1553

1554

1556 LORENZO PRIULI then was created Duke, a great learned man, in whose time after a long funestous warre, a peace was concluded 'twixt France and Spain much by the endeavours of the Republic.

1567 JEROMINO PRIULI succeeded next in the Principality: in his time the Councell of Trent begun, *Anno Dom.* 1560. and broke off, *pish* the fourth being Pope, who though by his own naturall inclination he was meek and gentle, yet being importun'd by the great complaints made unto him against his Predecessors Nephews, who during their Oncles Papacy committed som extorsions, he therupon committed to prison Charles, and Alphonso Caraffi both Cardinalls, the Duke of Palliano their brother, and two others their neer kinsmen, whose processes being form'd and consider'd by the Judges deputed to that end, they were found guilty of sundry Crimes, in so much that Cardinall Charles was strangled in the Castle of S. Angelo, the Duke of Palliano with the other brother were beheaded in the Tower of Nuova, and shew'd afterwards publicly to the people; Cardinall Alphonso was put only to a pecuniary amercement.

The Republic sent to the Councell of Trent Miolo de Ponte, and Matteo Dandolo, men much renown'd, to represent the State, and above twenty Venetian Bishops assisted there besides; but as the Counsell was newly open'd, a strange thing happen'd at Rome, for certain young men were incited by a Vision, which they gave out they had received from Angells: It was, that another diviner man shold succeed the Pope now living, who shold be the only Monarc of the world, commanding both the spirituall and temporall Jurisdiction, and shold bring all men to an exact knowledge of the tru God; they being desirous to have it suddenly com to passe, not tarrying till the Pope shold die a naturall death, resolv'd to massacre and dispatch him; one of their number call'd Benedetto Accolto undertook to do it as he was reading of a Petition, but when it came to the point of execution, he was daunted so, that he retir'd in a trembling posture; wherupon one of the Conspirators fearing that they shold be detected, went to the Pope and open'd the whole businesse, so that they were all apprehended and executed.

The Gulph was mightily infected with Pyrats in this Dukes time, but the Republic did quickly remedy it, sending great Fleets abroad to scowre the Adriatic, and secure trade.

The Pope sent to the Venetian Senat, that the Inquisition might be establish'd in their Dominions, to which end he employ'd a Nuncio of purpose, who urg'd it very pressingly; but they wav'd the businesse, alledging what miserable effects the pressing of the Inquisition had wrought both in Naples and Milan already; and their Republic thanks be to God, needed not such extraordinary means, they were generally such perfect Christians, but if any were convicted of any notorious Heresie, if they did not abjure their errors, there were Lawes strict enough already to punish them.

The Republic sent a splendid Embassie to congratulate Selym the new Turk, Martin Caballo was employed to that purpose, who made the following Speech unto the Emperour.

As much grief (most gracious Emperour) as the Venetian Reipublic, so highly affected to the *Ottomans*, hath receiv'd by the death of *Solyman* that glorious and wise Emperour, so much joy and contentment she hath received, to understand that divine power hath raised you to such a dignity, and plac'd you in the Throne belonging to the famous and most just family of the *Ottomans*; for it is most certain that the soul of *Solyman* doth at this present glory, not only for that he doth so much surpass all men in happinesse, having been meek and gentle to the humble, liberall to his friends, and faithfull to his Allies, but he rejoyceth to have left you his son behind him, far more excellent than himself; for he having bin ever invincible, and never given place to any mortall wight, is not onely at this time joyfull, but likewise accounteth himself more honor'd for being surmounted and overcome by his son in all vertues belonging to an Emperour. The excellency of so many great Monarks, your noble Ancestors, do invite us, or rather enforce us, most mighty Emperour, to expect as much good from you, the glory of the *Ottomans*, the high attempt of your Progenitors, every where so much renown'd, doth draw us therunto, and the fame of your forefathers, continued so many years without intermission, doth confirm it unto us: These things being thus, the Venetian Senat hath sent me hither to confirm and establish the same friendship and alliance which hath ever bin betwixt the *Ottoman* Empire and our Republic, and this amity with your most excellent Majesty ought to be the more pleasing unto you, by how much it is more ancient, confirm'd by sundry good offices on either part, and continued for so many years; for indeed all worldly things do in tract of time corrupt and grow feeble, and still new things are found best, but friendship being a sacred and divine thing, and which cannot be but amongst good and just men, the older it is, the more perfect and durable it is: Our Republic then being indued by these reasons, doth continually pray unto Almighty God for your health and prosperity.

This Ambassadour was dismissed with extraordinary respect, having rich garments, *Terra sigillata* and *Balsamum*, with divers other precious things bestowed upon him.

PIETRO LOREDANO was allotted and chosen to be the next Duke: the City of *Venice*, in the beginning of his government, was oppressed both with fire and famine, for the Arsenal was burnt. The great Turk having notice herof by a Jew, *John Miches* by name, was advised by him to attempt the taking of the Island of *Cyprus*, tho the gran Visier with other of the *Bassas* held it a more glorious thing for him to relieve the afflicted Moores of *Granada* in *Spain*; but in regard that no Gran Signor is respected as absolute Emperour, till he hath built a Mesquite, or perform'd some great exploit against the Christians; *Selym* being transported with the counsell of the said Jew, broke the League of peace with the Republic, and invaded *Cyprus*.

The Venetian Republic having timely notice herof, send an encrease of Forces to *Cyprus*, and sollicit most of the Christian Princes, to en-

able her against the brunt of the common enemy; she encreaseth the number of the Procurators of *S. Mark*, and admitted divers young Gentlemen under age into the Senat, provided they wold supply the Republic in this extremity with certain sums of money.

PIETRO LORDBANO had the beginning of his Government usher'd in by two illfavour'd disasters; for the Arsenal of *Venice* was set on fire, which falling among the pitch and tarre, with other combustible stuffe, made a most hideous noise farre and near; after which follow'd an intollerable dearth, insomuch, that for the peeples relief they were forced to employ the Magazin which was reserv'd for the Fleets; The great Turk having intelligence herof by *John Miches* a pernicious Jew who was turn'd Turk, and incited also by his Councell, apprehended this opportunity to pick a quarrell with the Republic, and to demand the Island of *Cyprus*, or else he denounced warre against them; som Cronicles report that *Selym* a little before sent to the Duke of *Savoy* to incite him to recover that Island which did of right belong unto him, and he promised to assist him in the enterprife, but the Savoyard wold not hearken to it.

Herupon *Selym* himself resolv'd upon it, and arm'd accordingly; wherupon the Venetian *Bailio* which was resident at *Constantinople*, not daring to send advertisement by Land for fear his Letters shold be intercepted, made his addresse to *Bassa Mahomet*, who was ever averse to this design, hoping therby to obtain his desire: He told the *Bassa* how ill befeeming it wold be for the Majesty and generosity of so great a Prince to invade those on a sudden and unexpected, who upon his word and oath thought themselves firm and safe; as though when time and occasion wold be offer'd he could want Forces to employ against them for the recovery of that which might justly belong unto him, against whom he ought first to proceed by way of Justice, and next by force, using first gentle means before he did take arms. Herupon by the advice of *Mahomet Bassa* the gran Visier *Selym* sent a *Chiaus* to *Venice*, who being admitted to a privat audience, was brought to the Senat, and according to the usuall custome, being plac'd on the Dukes right hand, he kiss'd his gown, and after divers reverences, he presented a purse of gold tissue, wherein were the Emperors Letters, saying, Most excellent Sir, this is a Letter from my Lord, when you are acquainted with his demand I expect an answer; The Duke answer'd it should be so. The *Cwiaus* being at a stand because he had no other answer, address'd himself to the Senators, saying,

‘My Lords, *Mahomet* the Visier *Bassa* hath commanded me to tell you that he is very sorry, that an occasion is offer'd that he must break with you, having ever sought to continue your friend, but complains coming so often to the Port, and from so many places, of the unfriendly dealing of the Officers belonging to this State, and specially of the kind entertainment and reception given to the Western pyrats at *Cyprus*, who this very year have done great hurt to the Musulmans hath taken such impressions in the mind of the great Lord, and so often provok'd him against this Common-wealth, finding that

complaints

complaints made hereof to your *Baylio* hath taken little effect, that he could detain himself no longer from denouncing war against you; and because you cannot hold out long against the arms of so potent a Prince, he adviseth you as a friend to take som course to shield you from so many dangers; and to this end he hath procur'd my coming hither, offering to do all he may, that ye may avoid this mighty stroke of fortune, and continue your ancient friendship with the great Lord.

The Prince replied, that the Senat had resolv'd on an Answer which should be read unto him, that he might the better understand and know their intentions, which was don by *Antonio Milladonna* Secretary to the Councell, which was thus; That the Senat did extremely marvel, that his Lord being no way by them provok'd, nor upon any just cause, wold violat that oath wherby he had so solemnly confirm'd the peace, taking now for a pretence to make war upon them, because they wold not give away a Kingdome which they had so many years lawfully and peaceably enjoy'd, wherewith he might be well assur'd they wold never part; but seeing that he was determin'd to proceed against them in that manner, the Republic wold not fail to defend that which did belong unto her, hoping by so much more to be the better able to do it, by how much the justice of their cause wold procure them all aid and succour, both divine and human, and so the *Chiaus* was disfinis'd with an Answer to his Letter, which was as followeth.

That the Venetians had inviolably maintain'd the peace concluded with his Imperiall Majesty, and contemn'd all other respects whatsoever, by refusing many fair oportunities, whereof they might have made good use to their extraordinary advantage, because that above all worldly things, it befits a Prince to keep his promise; and they being carefull to avoid all suspicion of so great an infamy, had dissembled and buried in silence divers wrongs done unto them, because they wold not be the first disturbers of the peace; but now perceaving that upon no occasion he denounc'd war against them at such a time as they least expected it, they wold not refuse it, for the defence of their own, and in particular for defence of the Iland of *Cyprus*, which as their Ancestors had enjoy'd by so just a title, they did likewise hope that God wold give them grace to maintain it valiantly against all those that wold unjustly take it away from them.

The *Chiaus* being return'd to *Constantinople*, *Selym* took it in high indignation, that the usuall Ceremonies us'd to Ambassadors were not perform'd to his *Chiaus Cubat*, who coming before him, and relating what preparations the Republic made, he seem'd to repent himselfe of his determination, and fell into a great heat of passion; therupon there were gards put upon the *Bailios* Palace, as also upon all the Venetian Consulls in *Egypt*, and *Syria*.

LODOVICO MOGENIGO was elected the next Duke, at the beginning of whose government the Turk sent mighty forces both by Land and Sea for the conquest of *Cyprus*; the Ile of *Rhodes* was the first ren-

devous of the whole Fleet, which came to more then two hundred armed Vessells, accounting one hundred fifty Gallies, together with Fusts and Galeots, among which ther were certain Mahonnes, which are like to great Gallies, not altogether so big as a Galeon, six Ships, and a great number of Vessells commonly call'd *Caramussolini*, and som fifty *Palandaries* to transport horse.

This Fleet bended it's direct course towards *Cyprus*, was descryed nere *Batto* the first of *July*, 1570. they dispatch eighty Gallies, and divers flat batom'd Vessells to *Tripoli*, and to the river of *Caramania*, ther to raise more horse and foot forces, all which arriving in *Cyprus*, made up the number of fifty thousand foot, two thousand five hundred horse, three thousand Pioners, and thirty peeces of Ordnances, with one hundred and fifty Falconets.

The ordinary Garrison of the Iland was but two thousand Italian foot, and som thousand recreuts sent from the firm Land with *Martinnengo*, two thousand fresh soldiers, many whereof perish'd by incommodious transportation, so that the greatest hopes of being able to defend the Towns and Castles, consisted in the fresh supplies, which the Iland her self, being populous, had promis'd to levy, and for Cavalrie, ther were but five hundred Stradiots which were upon the pay of the Republic.

Things being thus, and sufficient forces wanting to repell so huge an enemy, the Cavalry was too weak to hinder his landing, and the Infanterie too few, therfore resolution was taken to defend the two main Cities, *Famagosta* and *Nicotia*. The two chief Commanders of the Turkish Army was *Mustapha* and *Piali*, wherof the first was of a fierce fiery spirit; these two differ'd in opinion which to besiege, first *Piali* was for *Famagosta*, but *Mustapha* was for *Nicotia*, saying, that the reputation of so great an Army as theirs, ought not to be blemish'd by attempting any mean enterprize, therby to encrease the enemies courage, and diminish their own; that the Genoways had for ninety years held *Famagosta* at the same time as the Kings of the Family of *Lusignan* commanded the Iland, wherby might be gather'd, that the taking of that City wold be of no great importance for the taking of the whole Iland; that the Nobility, and the better part of the people were retir'd to *Nicotia*, where all the wealth and strength of the Kingdome was; so as that only exploit being perform'd, wold quickly put a period to all the rest; and their first achievment give an end to all their designs: so they invested *Nicotia*, a City seated in the midst of a Campanie in a wholesome temperat air, she hath excellent water, and the soil is very fruitfull: In former times 'twas nine miles in compasse, but the Venetian the better to fortifie it, reduc'd it to three; She is proportion'd like a Star, with eleven points; in ev'ry one of which there is a bulwark made only of earth, which were not perfectly finish'd when the Ottoman Army arriv'd, but the rules of fortification were so exactly observ'd, as the greatest Engines accounted it the most absolute peece in the world: There were in the City ten thousand foot, among whom were fifteen hundred Italians, and the rest were Cypriots; some contestation happen'd in

in *Nicosia* among the chief Commanders, but in *Mustapha's* Army there was a wonderfull unanimity and obedience, who among other choice men had six thousand Janizaries, and four hundred Spahies pick'd out of purpose for that expedition. *Mustapha* gives a fierce assault to four Bulwarks at once, and they of the City making a sally upon the enemy under *Andrea Cortese* a Stradiot Captain, he was taken prisoner, and as soon as he was brought before *Mustapha* his head was chopt off.

The Turks pursue their batteries with such a resolution, that they made themselves masters of all the Bulwarks, and so quickly rush'd into the Town, wher the Governor and Bishop, with the better sort, had retir'd into the Palace; and having received *Mustapha's* word for the safety of their lives, so soon as they had open'd the gates, the rabble fell in upon them, and put them all to the edge of the sword; which being done, they ran confusedly, and without Ensignes up and down the City, seeking, spoiling and ruining all things, (except Churches) dishonoring wives, ravishing Virgins, and massacring all as they went without distinction of sex or age, so that there was slain that day above twenty thousand Christian souls. they who were reserv'd were chain'd together, and haled over the bodies of their dead friends (reaking with hot blood) to prison. Thus was the famous City of *Nicosia* after fourteen daies siege taken and sack'd, a place that had flourished in great pomp and pleasure for many ages.

The Turks did afterwards with much ease become Lords of *Cyprus*, *Famagosta* excepted, whither *Mustapha* march'd soon after, and encamp'd himself three miles from the City, causing his horse to make daily incursions to the very gates, bearing the head of the chiefeft Nicotians upon their Lances points to daunt the souldiers, who were rather the more encouraged for revenge; so that when he made nearer approaches to the walls, they made many sallies out, and did notable execution upon the enemy; with their Ordnance they demolish'd three Forts which had bin rais'd by *Mustapha*, but it turn'd to their prejudice afterward; for thereby they spent above fifty thousand pound weight of powder, which they afterwards wanted.

Winter now approaching, and *Mustapha* having intelligence of a great League which was like to be between the Christian Princes, *Mustapha* did often, and by divers insinuating waies, sollicite the City to hearken to some agreement touching their rendition, but the Captains and inhabitants of *Famagosta* wold hearken to no parly at all, but sent to the Venetian Senat, intreating them not to treat with the bloody barbarous enemy, but to send them more forces, for they resolv'd to sell their lives as dearly as ever Christians did.

Ther was then at *Suda* in *Candy*, a great Fleet of Christian Gallies, both Venetian, Spanish and Roman, united by a late League; there was a consultation among the chief Commanders what to do, some held it was best to assault some places belonging to the Turk, thereby to enforce the enemy to quit *Cyprus*, and come to the rescue of their own: but *Zanne* the Venetian Generall was of another opinion, per-

swading them to sail directly to Cyprus, alledging that the principall design of that Fleet was to preserve that Island, which was in so desperate a condition, that if they directed their course elsewhere, 'twas impossible to keep her from utter ruine: That the probablest and most magnanimous way was to find out the enemies Fleet, because that upon report of their coming the Turke wold be enforced to quit their Land enterprises, and retire to their Navy, for the defence thereof; which if they shold not do, they were then sure to find their Gallies empty in the haven expos'd to their mercy: He added further, That though haply the enemy was more in number of vessels and men, nevertheless they were without all doubt in goodness of shipping, as also in courage and goodness of quarrell, farre superior unto them; moreover to approach the enemies Fleet, though no other profit shold ensue thereof, wold increase their own reputation, whereas on the contrary to turn away from them wold argue fear and cowardice; That it was no sound advice to lose his own first, upon hope to get it of another man.

These reasons being well enforced, were approv'd by every one as agreeable to the Senats Decree, wherupon the whole Fleet, consisting of an hundred eighty light Gallies, namely one hundred twenty foure of the Venetians, forty five of the King of Spain's, and twelve of the Popes, besides twelve great Gallies, and fourteen Venetian men of warre, with great number of other vessels of burthen, which carried ammunition, with other necessaries, in which Fleet there were fifteen thousand mercenary footmen, besides great numbers of volunteers, and most of them Gentlemen; this Fleet I say hois'd sails, and sail'd with a fair wind towards Cyprus, and in three dayes came to *Castelrosso*, which is seated on a rock, opposite to *Carimania*, som hundred and fifty miles from *Famagosta*; there they received the heavy news of the taking of *Nicotia*, which did much trouble them; therupon a Councell was call'd the next day, wherein *Doria* the Spanish Admirall openly protested, That he wold return home, saying, that he came from *Candy* with a designe to relieve *Nicotia*, which being lost, the cause of his journey ceas'd, and that he knew no other reason to expose them to the hazzard of a battail, for the enemies being thereby grown more insolent, wold quickly embark themselves not only to repell, but to assault us; He added further, the unsuitnesse of the season, winter drawing on, and the speciall charge he had for preserving his Fleet by the command of his Catholic Majesty: so *Doria* took his leave of the rest, not a little to his dishonor, and directed his course for *Puglio*, and so to *Sycily*.

Colonna the Popes Admirall, and *Zanne* desirous to do something, remain'd still together, but having intelligence that *Piali* the Turks Admirall was with his whole Fleet making towards them, they weigh'd anchors and made for *Candy*.

Though the Republic had ill luck at Sea, and in Cyprus this year, yet there were som compensations made to her in *Albania*, for divers Towns did rise up there, who being desirous to shake off the Turkish yoke, they sent to *Venice* for some auxiliary supplies, protesting unto them, That upon the first sight of their ensignes they wold run unto them

them, and become their subjects for security; wherof they wold give them their chiefest children for hostages: so the Governors of *Antivari*, *Dulcigna* and *Budua*, did, in the name of the Republic receave the Oath of Alleageance of more then one hundred Towns and Villages.

While poor *Cyprus* and her chief City *Famagosta* was upon making her last wil, the renewing of the League was treated at *Rome*, which the haughty spirit of the Spaniard did much retard. The Pope in his hortative offer'd to go upon the Fleet, among other things, the Spaniard propos'd that the Venetians shold be bound upon pain of Ecclesiastical censures, to observe in ev'ry point that which shold be resolv'd on in the League, as though they had suspected the *Republics* integrity, wherunto the Venetian Ambassadors gave a round and stout Answer, they did moreover contend about a *Generalissimo*, the Spaniard proposing not onely to nominat him but his Lieutenant also, who in his absence shold have the same authority: this did much distract the Treaty; ther was another rub besides in the businesse, which was a darknesse that was like to be 'twixt the Emperour and the Pope, for conferring a new Title upon the Duke of *Florence*, which the Emperour wold not allow of.

Ther was a motion of peace made about this time by the Turk to the Republic, but as she was ready to send *Ragasson* instructions accordingly, Generall *Colonna* the Popes Generall was sent from *Rome* to disswade her from it; the Spaniard also seeks unto her about the same purpose, and to desire her to re-enter into the League which was now absolutely concluded: hereupon she gave *Colonna* a pleasing answer, and after much canvassing the point in the Senat, a resolution was taken to send new Commissions to her Ambassadors at *Rome* accordingly.

So in *Rome* alter most solemn Divine Service, and the procession ended, in *S. Peters* Church, the League was publish'd, the particular Articles whereof were as followeth.

Between Pope Pius Quintus, promising for the Sea Apostolic and his Successors, with the consent of the whole Colledge of Cardinals, Philip the Catholic King, and the Duke and Senat of Venice, a League and perpetuall confederacy hath bin made to abate and overthrow the Turks power, who of late hath invaded with a mighty Army the Realm of Cyprus, a Countrey very commodious for the conquest of the Holy Land. That the Confederats forces shall consist of two hundred light Gallies, one hundred Ships of war, fifty thousand footmen, Italians, Spaniards, and Almains, four thousand five hundred horse, with Artillery and Ammunition proportionable to such a force, all which shall be employed for the defence, as wel of the confederat States, as to assail the enemy, and particularly for the enterprize of Algier, Tunis, and Tripoli; That all these forces shall be united in the month of May next ensuing, or in the month of April at Otranto, to passe into the Levant against the enemies, as Times, and the Councell of Captains shall think fit; that these Forces neverthelesse may be changed by increasing or diminishing the provisions of war, as necessity and the quality of the enterprize shall require, wherupon a yearly meeting shall be at Rome in Autumne, ther to consult what is best to be done; and if it shall ther be concluded not to attempt any thing that
year

year in common, yet it might be lawfull for ev'ry of the Confederats to execute their particular enterprizes, specially for the King of Spain, to enterprize those of Algier, Tunis, and Tripoli, in which, so that ther be no mighty Turkish Army abroad, the Venetians shall be bound to aid the King with fifty Gallies of purpose: That the sayed King shall be likewise bound to aid the Venetians, whensoever they shall enterprize any thing in their Gulph against the common enemy; on this condition neverthelesse, if he which shall crave this aid have far greater forces ready. That all the Confederats shall be oblig'd to defend the States of any one of them whom the Turk shall invade, and in particular with other places that shall belong to the Church: that for the expence of the war, his Catholic Majesty shall pay one half, and the other mortie being divided into three parts, the Venetian shall pay two, and the Pope the third: They shall be bound to give the Pope twelve Gallies ready rigg'd and munition'd, which his Holinesse shall mann for the service of the League; that generally each of the Confederats shall be bound to contribut for the common necessity, whatsoever he shall abundantly have, and others want, which afterwards shall be allow'd upon account: that the store-houses for corn shall be ev'ry where open for the common good, and that grain may be taken forth out of commodious places, so that he of whom 'tis taken make first his own provision: that at Councils and Consultations the Commanders of the three Confederat Princes shall be present, and what the most of them resolve upon shall be concluded; neverthelesse the execution of matters determin'd shall remain to the Generall of the Army (who was presently nam'd, to wit, Don John of Austria) and in his absence Marc Antonio Colonna with the same authority, though at the same time he retain the title and rank of the Churches Generall.

In this League, which was struck 1570. ther was a place reserv'd for Maximilian of Austria the elect Emperour, for the King of France, and the King of Portugal to enter into the confederacy when they shold think it fit, and to all other Christian Princes, who had a desire to engage in it, and in case any strife shold arise twixt the Confederats, the Pope as Umpire shall decide it.

These Articles were not to be put in execution till the year following: in the mean time, because Famagosta was so much streightned, the Republic sent thither Marc Antonio Quirini with four Ships, attended by twelve Gallies, to carry supplies thither, who safely landed sixteen hundred foot, with great store of victualls and munition in Famagosta, which did beyond expression encourage them; and whilst he remain'd ther, he took a Ship of the enemies, with other smaller Vessells, and raz'd certain Forts which the Turks had rais'd upon the rock of Gambella; there was another supply of eight hundred fresh men sent to Bailone the Governour of Famagosta in other Ships a little after.

The Turk made some overtures of peace again to the Venetians, which they wold not hearken unto, in regard of the new League; hereupon there came another formidable Fleet of two hundred and fifty Gallies again to perfect the conquest of Cyprus, which arriving at Candy did ravage the Countrey; but beaten out with losse, they row'd up and down, and pillag'd divers other places in Zant and Cephalonia;

at last *Don John of Austria* arrives at *Genoa* with his promised supplies, whence he sent to *Venice* to acquaint them of his arrivall, and thank them for their good opinion of him.

The Turks after the taking of *Nicosia* had deferr'd the siege of *Famagosta* by reason of Winter, but as soon as the next Spring approach'd, they replanted the siege, and with sixty four great pieces of Ordnance, with four huge Basiliscos they did batter the place night and day. The besieged did for ten dayes space make so furious a counter-Battery, as they made fifteen of the enemies Canons unserviceable, and slew thirty thousand of their men: At last their powder failing them, they could not be so active, which the inhabitants understanding they went in a hubub to the Governor, that he wold propound a Treaty with the cruell foeto save their wives and children; so there being Commissioners employ'd on both sides, it was agreed upon, that the Christian Soldiers shold be convey'd to *Candy* in Turkish vessels, carrying with them their arms and baggage, with five pieces of Ordnance, and three horses belonging to the three chief Commanders. That the inhabitants who were desirous to depart, might do the like, and those who wold continue there shold have assurance given them to enjoy their goods, and to live in their Christian Religion still. These Articles being sign'd by *Mustapha*, there were forty vessells appointed to transport the Soldiers and inhabitants; but as soon as the Turks entred the City, they began to offer violence: whereupon *Bragadini* sent *Martinengo* to *Mustapha*, to complain of the Soldiers; *Mustapha* entertain'd him kindly, desiring to know so valiant a Captain, and to confer with him: *Bragadini* giving credit to these sugred words; being accompanied with *Martinengo*, and *Quirini*, and attended on by sundry Captains all on horsback, with som four musqueteers, go to *Mustapha's* Tent: *Bragadini* rode foremost under a crimson umbrella cloth'd in purple, wearing his usuall robe of Magistrat, who being come to *Mustapha's* pavilion, left their weapons at the doore; and being entred were courteously entertain'd by *Mustapha*; who cau'd them to sit down, among other discourfes he craved caution for the vessells that were sent to *Candy*; *Bragadini* having made answer that no such thing was mention'd in the Articles, and besides he had no man there with him who he could leave for pledg behind him; *Mustapha* pointing at *Quirini* said, let that man be pledg; *Bragadini* constantly maintain'd the contrary, and told him he could not justly detain any of them, *Mustapha* waxing impatient, and being no longer able to master his choler, did fiercely thunder many injurious speeches against him, commanded them all to be manacled, then thrusting them forth of his Tent, he caus'd his Soldier to murder before his face, *Baillone*, *Martinengo*, *Quirini* and all the rest before *Bragadini's* face, who was reserv'd for a greater torture, having before his death endured many martyrdomes: they forc'd him twice or thrice to offer his neck, as though they wold have chopt off his head, which they did not do, but only cut off his nose and ears. Count *Hercules* who had bin sent formerly for Hostage, being likewise manacled, was likewise bound,

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but hid by *Mustapha's* Eunuch till his fury was pass'd; all the rest of the Christian soldiers were also bound, and those which were already ship'd were made Gallie-slaves, and despoil'd of their goods. Two daies *Mustapha* entred the City, wher he commanded *Tepulo* to be pulled up, and hang'd at the Yards Arm of a Gally; then causing *Bragadini*, who was so pittifully mangled and dismembred, to be brought before him, he was loaden with two baskets full of earth, the one before, the other behind, and was made to carry them to the great Breach, making him to kisse the ground so oft as he pass'd by him; thence he was hurried away into a Gally of *Rhodes*, where he was bound in a Chair, with a Crown at his feet, and so hoisted up to the Main-yard of the Gally, that he might be the better discern'd of the Slaves and Christian soldiers that were in the Haven: being thence brought back to the City with Drums and Trumpets into the Market place, he was ther stript of his clothes, and most ignominiously layed upon a Scaffold, wher they fell a slaying of him alive; the Noble gentleman enduring all things with invincible patience and magnanimity, without any murmuring, only taxing the perfidious *Bassa* with perjury and Breach of Faith, at last expir'd, when the bloody executioners had come with their knives as far as his navill; then was his skin stuff'd with straw, and carried round about the City, 'twas afterward hung at the Yard Arm of a Galleot all along the Coasts of *Syria*, as he return'd to *Constantinople*.

Such was the immanity and barbarousnesse of *Mustapha* at the taking of *Famagosta*, where he had lost during the siege above thirty thousand men; and so was the famous and delicat Ile of *Cyprus*, the parent of the Queen of Love, ravish'd, and made a slave to the *Mahumetan*, to the great reproach of all Christian Princes, who were consulting all the while upon a League, and standing upon *Puntillias*.

But the triumvirat Admiralls of the League, *Don John* of *Austria*, *Sebastian Venieri*, and *Marc Antonio Colonna*, met at last at *Messina* in *Sicily*, wher ther was bandings of opinions on all sides, how to employ those Fleets upon such an enterprize that might tend to advantage and honor, the main debate was whither they shold oppresse the enemy by some actuall invasion, or stand upon the defensive part for the preservation of their own Territories; hereupon *Bernardino de Requesens*, *Don John Oracle*, with a clear voice, and grave gesture and countenance spake as followeth, addressing his Speech to *Don John*.

'Your Highnesse, most excellent Prince, in commanding my opinion before these more sufficient Commanders, observes the rules of feasts, wher the coursest meats are tasted first, my Councell may perhaps be lesse pleasing, yet as wholsom as any others; The question is, *Whether we must assault the Enemy by Sea, or keep him from infesting us by Land?* this will be best resolv'd of, when we have made a tru discovery and comparison of his forces with ours; if we be stronger 'twill be more honorable to invade; if weaker, 'twill be more fitting to repell; what the number of the enemies Gallies is we may see; how those Gallies are arm'd we may conjecture; and how those men are flesh'd and heightened with late successes we need not doubt: Let us take heed, that while

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‘we seek to revenge our harms, we do not aggravate them, nor lose in
 ‘striving to recover; it were a perpetuall infamy that such a Fleet shold
 ‘return without performance of any thing, but it were not onely a
 ‘shame, but an utter undoing not to return at all: the Common-wealth
 ‘were better to want the interest than the principall; this Fleet is the
 ‘surest anchor of hopes, and to lose it, wold indanger the wrack of
 ‘all *Italy*; let us not therefore offer to fight, unlesse some advantage of
 ‘time and place be offer’d us, and counterpoise on our sides the odds of
 ‘strength on theirs; nothing can be to us of greater importance, then
 ‘the preservation of the Fleet it self: The storminess of Winter will
 ‘shortly calm the fury of the Turk, in the mean time it will be a degree
 ‘of victory to limit and stop the course of theirs: This, most excellent
 ‘Generall, is my opinion, wherunto I am not yet so wedded, but that
 ‘clearer judgement may divorce me.

This by som cooler tempers was heard with a kind of applause, but
 of the Noble *Veneri* with disdain, which yet was modestly smother’d
 by *Barbarico*, as followeth.

‘I deny not, most excellent Generall, and you my Noble Lords, but
 ‘that the last Speech was enrich’d and fortified by strong Arguments,
 ‘wherein if there be any defect, it proceeds not from too little judge-
 ‘ment, but from too much care and tenderneffe of the Christian State,
 ‘a zeal which not only excuseth, but almost justifieth and endeares his
 ‘error: I confesse that to assault an enemy with a weaker power were to
 ‘betray it, but wherein appears it that we are the weaker? if they exceed
 ‘us in number of Gallies, we excell them in strength and swiftnesse; if
 ‘they exceed us in multitudes of men, we them in courage and
 ‘Discipline; he thinks their victories have added much to their cou-
 ‘rage, I think it hath drawn more from their strength; questionlesse our
 ‘men in *Cyprus*, and other places, held their Altars, Liberties, Wives,
 ‘Children, Wealth, Houses and lifes at too high a rate to deliver them
 ‘up *gratis*; they have found the Christian Markets dear; nay, their vi-
 ‘ctories may haply beget ours, breeding in them not as much animosi-
 ‘ty, as security and presumption, which useth to be their own traitor:
 ‘Was this Fleet built and united with such infinite care, cost and diffi-
 ‘culty, presently to dissolve and break up, as if we had met but to sa-
 ‘lute one another, or went only to Sea to purge and return? or shall we
 ‘stay only to look on our enemies, as if we could destroy them like
 ‘Basilisks? but winter will cool their heat: were we not better quench
 ‘it now, that it may not break out again the next Spring: will not this
 ‘Crocodile which devours us both by Land and Sea, farned with
 ‘Christian blood and spoil, wax stronger by a years growth? if we be
 ‘too weak for him now, how shall we resist him then? how shall we
 ‘look our selves, nay heaven in the face, or lift up our eyes to it, not
 ‘daring to lift up our hands against its enemies? But I surfeit your ears
 ‘with perswasions, needlesse to such judgements and resolutions; your
 ‘Fathers imperiall Majesty displayed in your brow, promifeth the same
 ‘magnanimity in your brest; ther is (I know) too much *Cesar* in you to
 ‘have the patience not to fight: Make hast then most illustrious Prince,

‘to reap the fruit of a victory with your sword.

This was the sense of the Noble *Venetian*, which the Speakers repute, and gracefull delivery gave more life and strength unto; it was afterwards confirm’d by *Carnia* a Spaniard, the sympathy between whose young and the Generalls ear further’d perhaps his resolution to fight, willing that so Noble a Councell might be rather attributed to one of the Nation, then to *Barbarico*: *Carnia’s* Speech in effect was this:

‘Ther are three Motives, most magnificent Generall, which without imputation of fear or omission of duty, may induce a Commander to decline battail: First a disproportion between the benefit of victory, and prejudice of overthrow on either part; in this respect the Duke of *Alva* did politiquely abstain from encountering the *Guise* in *Naples* when they could lose but their Army, but the Spaniard his Army, and Kingdom of *Naples*: Secondly, if he foresee an easier and cheaper means to dissolve the adverse Army then by battail; thus did your highnessse Father, *Charles* the Emperour of sacred memory, break the neck of the *Lutheran* Armies in *Germany*: Lastly, the inequality of strength, he being the weaker, and likely to miscarry in the attempt, wherof ther are so many presidents, that I need alledge none; but neither of these can be applied to divert us from battail, where if we prevail we recover our own again, and haply *Greece* her self for interest; if fighting valiantly we be overcome, yet shall we in the conflict so far weaken and maim the enemy, that we shall sooner arm a defensive Navy then he an offensive, and more easily secure our own, then he make any further impression on it. Touching protraction, the winter will indeed dissolve his Fleet, but so that it will bud forth againe the next Spring perhaps a greater, and get the start of our Navy, his being united by Nation, ours by combination. Touching inequality of force, it is propable we exceed them more in men, then they us in vessells, for he must needs consume many men, in taking so many strong Towns and Forts, and employ many in keeping them; neither are the scars of the late pestilence healed among them, therefore my advice is, the Gallies of *Candy* being com, that you hasten to *Corfu*, by which they must needs passe, least having intelligence of your resolution to fight, they prevent the danger of incountring, and carry from you the fruits of their own victory, and the opportunity of ours.

Don John after this serious consultation concluded to assail the Turkish Fleet, and attempt to intercept their harvest of *Cyprus*, with other maritin parts of Christendom ere they shold house it, therefore departing from *Messina*, and being lanch’d out to open Sea, he compos’d his Gallies to that form of battail which he intended to observe in fight; so marshalling and exercising them before, that ev’ry Squadron might know his place, and ev’ry Gally his Squadron, and be able to transform themselves to all figures without confusion, when occasion shold require. Two daies after they arriv’d at the Cape of *Colannes*, wher they came to anchor by reason of a contrary wind, as also because they were to take their fresh supplies of men; in the mean time they dispatch’d
three

three Venetian Gallies to *Corfu*, to make discovery of the Turkish Fleet, who brought news that they had pass'd along in view of *Zant*, and entered into the Gulph of *Lepanto*.

Herupon, though with som difficulty, by reason of contrary winds, they put to Sea, and the seventeenth of September arriv'd at *Corfu*, wher an ill-favor'd accident happen'd, for *Don Iohn* having sent *Doria* to survey the Army, and finding som Venetian companies not compleat, he distributed among them certain numbers of Spaniards, wherof *Mutius Tortona* commanded one band, who being a man of turbulent spirit, rais'd a mutiny, so that they fell from words to blows, wherupon by *Venieri* the Venetian Generalls command, *Tortona* and his Ensigne were hang'd by *Martiall Law*: *Don Iohn* being a little too indulgent of his Countrey-men the Spaniards, complain'd, *That his authority was more condemn'd by Venieri, then Venieries by Tortona, for which if ther were not honorable satisfaction given, he wold take it himself, and teach Venieri, that though he respect'd the honor of the Republic, he wold not neglect his owne*; *Venieri* protest'd on the other side, *that he did it not to derogat from the Authority of the Generall any way, but to preserve his own, and prevent the sudden confusion of the mutiny, looking upon the offender not as a Spaniard, but as a mutineer*; he affirm'd further, *that if the Generall shold take this necessary pece of justice as an occasion to break the League, which was applied as a means to keep it, it wold be manifest that not devotion but ambition diverted him from this honorable action; as for violence, he shold find him as dangerous an enemy, as otherwise a necessary friend.*

Colonna the Popes Admirall feiring what this might grow unto, us'd his intercession to atone the difference, conjuring *Don Iohn*, in whom he found great obstinacy of discontent and estrangement, and telling him *the act was just, though sudden like the occasion, and that suddenness was necessary in dangers of so swift extension, which having once got the start, remedy could hardly overtake them*: That mutiny in an Army was of as instant conveyance as a gangrene in the body, if the party infected were not presently cut off, it endanger'd the whole; that this was no intrusion on the Generals authority, for an under-Admiral in his own Squadron to execut a privat offender: that indeed he had no cause of offence, & if he had cause, he had no leasure to entertain it: that the enemies strength could not so much endanger them, as their own division weaken them; that as nothing could heap more honor upon him then the suppressall of the enemy, so nothing could lay fouler aspersiion then to lose this opportunity of doing it; therefore if he could not casheer his passion, he shold employ it against the common enemy.

These perswasions, strong, though not bitter, mov'd *Don Iohn* then to abstain from the effects of choler, but not to extinguish it, so that by reason of this distast with *Venieri*, he communicated all things afterwards to *Barbarico*.

From *Corfu* the whole Fleet held her course to *Cephalonia*, and thence to the Gulph of *Lepanto*, and drawing nere to the place, and discovering the enemy, and resolv'd to assail him, *Don Iohn* commanded the decks to be clear'd, chests stowed, those Cabins which might be an im-

pediment to the Combatant taken down, the rest that might be receptacles to cowards lock'd up, leaving neither excuse for his men, nor advantage for the enemy; and as he prepar'd all essentials, so he neglected no imaginary or opinionat part of defence or offence; therefore knowing that strength was the beauty of an Army, but bravery the Ensigne of that strength, his men were richly arm'd; and his Gallies suitable to his men, both carrying the badge of triumph, and the face of victory, displaying magnanimity and confidence, like a bright, though dreadfull flame. And because he might husband the small remainder of time to the utmost minut, he caus'd victualls to be proportion'd to his men moderately, not superfluously, far from the swinish custom of some Northerly Nations, who, *as if wine were the nurse of valour, as oyl to a lamp* against any fight, knock out the heads of their barrells, and drink reason out of their own heads, and so reel aboard, sometimes tumbling upon victory, but seldom upon honour, which ever derives her self from vertue: This Noble temperat Captain then not taking intemperance to be the Fountain of resolution, did therefore distribut as much to his soldiers as might strengthen their bodies, not weaken their judgement, and breed courage in them, not rage, which being with more speed then ceremony ended, he with a countenance and habit becoming such a place and person, descended into his Barge, wherein he pass'd through the body of the Fleet, being rang'd in form following.

It consisted of four principall distinct parts, *viz.* two wings, the main battalion, and the reserve of succours: In the right wing were contain'd fifty three Gallies, wherof *Doria* was Admirall, bearing in his main top a green flag, the left wing was compos'd of an equall number of Gallies commanded by *Augustino Barbarico*, with a yellow flag on the starboard side of the top; In the main battail were included sixty one Gallies, wherin *Don Iohn* himself was distinguish'd by a sky-colour'd flag: the two wings and the main battail were 167. Gallies strong; so plac'd, that the two wings carried forward the body in equall part, the one not forsaking the other, yet twixt all three ther was sufficient distance to admit three or four Gallies a brest, without falling foul either on themselves, the wings, or the main battail; as well to give way to those supplies of rescues which shold be needfull in any part, as to transform the whole battail it self into any figure without confusion: The Marquis of *Santa Cruz* bearing a white flag in his Poop, conducted the reserve for succours, consisting of thirty eight Gallies, out of which were deducted eight, commanded by *Don Iohn de Cardona* Precursor of the whole Fleet, who running about twenty miles before the rest by swift Frigots, signified unto the Generall whatsoever was necessary to be known in their discovery, with commandment when they descryed the Turkish Navy, to retire and imp themselves to the two wings in equall division, *Cardona* to the right wing. The Gallies and *Argozies* were half a mile before the Gallies, two before the right wing, two before the left, and two before the middle battail, ev'ry Galliesse a mile before each other; the first were commanded by *Ambrosio* and *Antonio Bragadini*, the second by *Iacomo Ghori*, and *Ante-*

nio Duodi, the third by *Andrea Pisara*, and *Pietro Pisano*: the use of these greater vessells (being fortified with plenty of Ordnance, and lin'd with multitude of small shot) was to receave the first fury of the enemies Fleet passing by, that being weakned and disordred by them, the next charge might be more safe and easie: and in respect they were huge and unweldy Vessells unapt for oars, ev'ry Galeasse was rowed by two severall Gallies whensoever they were becalm'd, and had lost the use of their sails, the Galeasse of *Antonio Duodi* was tow'd by the Generall and *Colonna*; the Galeasse of *Giacomo Guori* was tow'd by *Venieri*, and *Christophoro Lieni*, the Galeasse of *Ambrosio Bragadini* by *Augustin Barberigo*; the Galeasse of *Antonio Bragadini* by *Autonio Canali*; the Galeasse of *Andrea Pisano* by the Prior of *Messina*; the Galeasse of *Pietro Pisano* by *Andr. a Doria*. The General, like the heart in the body, was seated in the midst of the battail, garded on the right side by *Marc Antonio Colonna* the Popes Admirall, and on the left by *Venieri*: *Colonna* was flank'd by the Admirall of *Genoa*, wherof *Hector Spinola* was Captain, associated by the Prince of *Parma*. *Venieri* was flank'd by the Admirall of *Savoy*, commanded by *Lieni*, accompanied by the Prince of *Urbino*: After the Generall, *Colonna* and *Venieri* were back'd by a Gally nam'd the *Prince of Spain*, and another belonging to the great Comendador of *Castile*; the right side of the main battail, opposit to the wing, was strengthen'd by the Admirall Gally of *Malta*, commanded by the Prior of *Messina*: the left side was commanded by a Gally call'd the Captain of *Pietro Lomelino*, by *Paulo Vrsino*: in the right wing *Cardona* seconded *Andrea Doria*: in the left wing *Augustin Barberico* was supported on one hand by *Marco Quirini*, and on the other by *Canali*. Yet was the whole Fleet, though distinct in order, so intermixt in Nation, that neither the Spanish, Venetian or Papall Gallies could respect their particular safety.

In regard that this was the most furious & greatest fight that ever was upon salt water, and the most successfull that ever Christians had against the Turk, I shall be the more exact and punctuall in the relation of it; therefore I shall here set down a Catalog of the names of all Bortoms and chief Commanders in both the Fleets.

The

*The Gallies and Captains, who went before the
Fleet, for discovery, were these,*

<i>Gallies.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
1 <i>The S. Magdalen of Venice,</i>	Marco Contarini.
2 <i>The Sun of Venice,</i>	Vincente Quirini.
3 <i>The Admirall of Sicily,</i>	Juan de Cordona.
4 <i>The Vice-Admirall of Sicily,</i>	
5 <i>The Admirall,</i>	David Imperiali.
6 <i>The Joannica of Sicily,</i>	
7 <i>S. Cathena of Venice,</i>	Marco Cicogna.
8 <i>The Lady of Venice,</i>	Pietro Francisco Maripietro.

The Gallies and Captains of the left wing.

<i>Gallies.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
<i>The Admirall of Venice,</i>	Augustin Barbarico, Proveditor.
<i>The Vice-Admirall of Venice,</i>	Antonio Canali, Proveditor.
<i>The Fortune of Venice,</i>	Andrea Barbarico.
<i>The Archer of Naples,</i>	Martino Pyrola.
<i>The Treble-hand of Venice,</i>	Georgio Barbarico.
<i>The Double-Dolphin of Candie,</i>	Francisco Zeno.
<i>The Lion and Phoenix of Canea,</i>	Francisco Mengano.
<i>S. Nichola of Cherfo,</i>	Colanes Drafé.
<i>The Victory of Naples,</i>	Ostavio Roccardi.
<i>The Lomelina,</i>	Augustin Conevali.
<i>The Elengina of the Popes,</i>	Fabio Vulciati.
<i>The Lady of Canea,</i>	Philippo Polani.
<i>The Sea-horse of Candy,</i>	Antonio de Cubelli.
<i>The Double-Lion of Candy.</i>	Nicholo Fratello.
<i>The Lion of Istria,</i>	Dominico de Tucco.
<i>The Crosse of Cephalonia,</i>	Marco Cimera.
<i>The S. Virginia of Cephalonia,</i>	Christophoro Criffa.
<i>The Lion of Candy,</i>	Francisco Bonaccio.
<i>The Christ of Candy,</i>	Andrea Cornelio.
<i>The Angell of Candy,</i>	Giovanni Angelo.
<i>The Pyramis of Candy,</i>	Francisco Buono.
<i>The L. of Candy with arm'd horse,</i>	Antonio Eudominiano.
<i>The Christ rais'd of Venice,</i>	Simone Gora.
<i>The Lesser Christ of Venice,</i>	Frederico Renieri.
<i>The Christ of Corfu,</i>	Christophoro Condocollo.
<i>The Christ rais'd of Canea,</i>	Georgio Calerga.
<i>The great Christ of Venice,</i>	Bart. Denato.
<i>The Christ rais'd of Vegia,</i>	
<i>The Retimana,</i>	Nicholo Avonali.

The

Gallies.

The Christ of Candy,
The Christ rais'd again of Rhodes
The Rodus of Canea,
The S. Euphemia of Brescia,
The La. Marquis of Doria,
The Fortune of Andrew,
The Arm of Canea,
The Sea-horse of Venice,
The Christ of Canea,
The Arm of Venice,
Our Lady of Zant,
The Christ rais'd again,
Our Lady of Venice,
The Trinity,
The Flame of Naples,
The S. John of Naples,
The Envy of Naples,
The Valour of Naples,
The S. Jocab of Naples,
The S. Nicolaico of Naples,
The Christ rais'd again of Venice
The Angell of Venice,
The S. Dorothy of Venice,
The Admirall of Venice,

Captains.

Giovanni Cornelio.
 Francisco Zancaruolo.
 Francisco Molino.
 Horatio Fisogna.
 Francisco Sphebra.
 Lodovico Belui.
 Michael Visamano.
 Antonio Canali.
 Daniel Calefatto.
 Nicolo Lipamanno.
 Nicolo Modono.
 Francisco Zancaruolo.
 Marc Antonio Pisano.
 Gio. Contareni.
 Juan Cuetta.
 Garcia Vargaro.
 Torribio Acaveso.
 Michael Quixada.
 Monferrato Guardiola.
 Christophoro Monguia.
 Gio Bautista Quirini.
 Umphredo Justiniano.
 Paolo Mani.
 Antonio Quirini Proveditor.

In the main Battail, were these Captains and Gallies:

Gallies.

The Admirall of Lomelina,
The Master Lomelina.
The Admirall Bandmella,
The Master of Genoa,
The Toscano of the Popes,
The Sea-man of Vicenza,
Our Lady of Venice,
The S. Jeronimo of Lessina,
The Joannica of Venice,
The Alexandrica of Bergamo,
The Admirall Marina,
The Logg of Venice,
The Mongabell of Venice,
The Virgin of Candy,
The Temperance of Doria,
The good Fortune of Naples,
The Castle of Spain,

Captains.

Jordano Orfino.
 Pietro Lomelino.
 Bandinello Saulo.
 Pollerano.
 Metello Caracciola.
 Gia. Dressano.
 Gio. Zeno.
 Gio. Babzi.
 Antonio Collioneo.
 Georgio D'este
 Jeronimo Canali.
 Berticaio Contareni.
 Francisco Dandulo.
 Cypriano Marini.
 Vincenzo Paschali.

Baccia Pisano.

R

The

Gallies.

The Victory of the Popes,
The Pyramis,
The Christ of Venice,
The S. Francesco of Spain,
The Peace of the Popes,
The Pearl of Doria,
The Wheel of Venice,
The Pyramis of Venice,
The Palm of Venice,
The Admirall of Gil Andruda,
The Granado of Spain,
The Admirall of Genoa,
The Admirall of Venice,
The Gally Royall,
The Admirall of the great Comendador,
The Popes Admirall,
The Admirall of Savoy,
The Grifonia of the Popes,
The S. Theodora of Venice,
The Mendoza of Naples,
The Mount of Canca,
The Gio. Bautista of Venice,
The Victory of Doria.
The Pisana of the Popes,
The Figuera of Spain,
The Christ of Venice,
The S. John of Venice,
The Florence of the Popes,
The George of Naples,
The Master of Naples,
The Moon of Spain,
The Passata of Venice,
The Lion of Venice,
The S. Jerom of Venice,
The Admirall of Grimaldi,
The Master of Da. Imperiali,
The S. Christopher of Venice,
The Judith of Zant,
The Larmelina of Candy,
The middle Moon of Venice,
The Doria of John Doria,
The Order of S. Peter,
The Order of S. John,
The Admirall of Malta,

Captains.

Antonio Uliana.
 Jeromino Contareni
 Christophoro Gualches.
 Perpignano.
 Gio. Spinola.
 Gabriel Canali.
 Francisco Buono.
 Jeronimo Venieri.
 Cinoguerra.
 Puolo Botenio.
 Hector Spinola.
 Sebastian Venieri.
 Don John of Austria.

Anto. Colonna.
 Liemi.
 Alexandri Negroni.
 Theodoro Balbi.
 Martino de Cayde.
 Vizamano.
 Gio. Mocenigo.
 Ph. Doria.
 Hercole Lotta.
 Diego Lopes.
 Georgio Pisano.
 Daniele Moro.
 Tomaso de Medici.
 Eugenio de Vargus.
 Francisco Benavides.
 Emanuel Aguilar.
 Pietro Pisano.
 Ludovico Pasqualio.
 Gasparo Maripietro.
 Georgio Grimaldi.
 Nicolo Lucano.
 Alexandro Contareni.
 Marino Sicuro.
 Pietro Gradonico.
 Valerio Valeroffo.
 Gia. Cafali.
 Santabio.
 Lod. Tesser.
 The Prior of Messina.

The right Wing.

Gallies.

The Admirall of Sicily,
The Piemontan of Savoy,
The Admirall of Mic. Doria,
The Force of Venice,
The Queen of Candy,
The Nino of Venice,
The Christ rais'd again of Venice,
The armed man of Retima, }
The Eagle of Retima,
The Palm of Canea,
The Angell of Corfu,
The S. Joannica of Arberia,
The Lady of Fravica,
The Ship of Venice,
The Lady of Candy,
The Christ of Crema,
The S. Vittoria of Crema,
The Master of Grimaldi,
The Master of Marini,
The Margaret of Savoy,
The Diana of Genoa,
The Gnigana of Naples,
The Moon of Naples,
The Fortune of Naples,
The Hope of Naples,
The Fury of Lomelina,
The Master of Lomelina,
The Negrona,
The Bastard Negrona,
The Fire of Candy,
The Eagle of Candy,
The S. Christopher of Venice,
The Christ of Venice,
The Hope of Candy,
The Royalty of Padoa,
The S. Josefica of Venice,
The Resolut of Naples,
The Sicilia of Sicily,
The Master of Nic. Doria,
The Eagle of Corfu,
The S. Trifonica of Catarra,
The Tower of Vicenza,
The S. Mary of the Popes,

Captains.

Don Juan de Cordona.
 Octavio Moreto.
 Pandolpho Polydoro.
 Reniere Zeno.
 Gio. Barbarico.
 Polani.
 Benedi& Soranza.
 Andrea Calergo.
 Ja. Medio.
 Stellio Carciopula.
 Gio. de Domeni.
 Lod. Cipito.
 Antonio Pasqualio.
 Foscarini.
 Francisco Forneri.
 Zorlano.
 Lorenzo Treccia.
 Antonio Cornili.
 Battaglino.
 Georgio Lafagna.
 Gabriel Medino.
 Julio Rabbi.
 Diego Madran.
 Pietro Busto.
 Ja. Chiappo.
 Georgio Greco.
 Nic. Costano.
 Lorenzo de Tani.
 Je. Contareni.
 Je. Georgio.
 Andrea Tromo.
 Antonio Lando.
 Antonio Buono.
 Buzacarior.
 Francisco Ofeda.
 Giovanni Caraffa.
 Francisco Amadea.
 Jul. Centaurio.
 Pietro Duono.
 Basanteo.
 Lod. de Portu.
 Pandolfo Strozzi.

<i>Gallies.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
<i>The S. Joannica of the Popes,</i>	Angelo Bifalio.
<i>The Master of Nigroni,</i>	Lod. Gumba,
<i>The Admirall of Nigroni,</i>	Amb. Nigroni.
<i>The Monark of Jo. Andrew,</i>	Garibaldo.
<i>The Handmaid of Jo. Andrew,</i>	Mi. Imperiali.
<i>The Admirall of Gio. Doria,</i>	Gio. Andrea Doria.

The reservation for succour placed behind as a Gard.

<i>Gallies.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
<i>The S. Joannica of Sicily,</i>	Pietro Morilo.
<i>The Buccana,</i>	Pietro di Lagia.
<i>The Leena of Naples,</i>	Juan Machado.
<i>The Constancy of Naples,</i>	Juan Ascaleo.
<i>The Marqueza of Naples,</i>	Rufio de Velasques.
<i>The S. Barbara of Naples,</i>	
<i>The S. Andrea of Naples,</i>	Juan de rupe Melino.
<i>The S. Caterina of Naples,</i>	Marco Molino.
<i>The S. Barilmeo of Naples,</i>	Gio. Loredano.
<i>The S. Angelo of Naples,</i>	The Marquesse of Santa Cruz.
<i>The Terrana of Naples,</i>	
<i>The Christ of Venice,</i>	Contareni.
<i>The Double-hand of Venice,</i>	Maripietro.
<i>The Admirall of Naples,</i>	Lod. Balbi.
<i>The Faith of Venice,</i>	Gio. Benito.
<i>The Pillar of Venice,</i>	Filippo Leo.
<i>The Magdalen of Venice,</i>	Gio. Benedetto.
<i>The Lady of Venice,</i>	Pietro Badoario.
<i>The Menidus of Venice,</i>	Chr. Lachico.
<i>The Hope of Venice,</i>	Georgio Cochio.
<i>S. Peter of Venice,</i>	Danieli Trono.
<i>S. George of Subenica,</i>	Luis de Hereda.
<i>The S. Michael of Venice,</i>	Vaschedo Coronado.
<i>The Sibilla of Venice,</i>	Antonio de Ascoli.
<i>The Crane of Spain,</i>	
<i>The Admirall of Vaschido.</i>	
<i>The Suprana of the Popes,</i>	
<i>The Occasion of Spain,</i>	
<i>The Master of the Popes,</i>	
<i>The Calm of the Popes,</i>	

The Generall descending, as hath bin say'd, into his Barge, pass'd through the whole Fleet, taking a short, but exact view of the form of the battail, and by brief, but pathetique Speech, breath'd courage into his men: his Oration was to this purpose:

' Brave invincible spirits; whom gracious heaven hath held worthy
' to be his Champions, to whom the Angells will not be idle specta-
' tors, but actors and assistants in this sacred Tragedy: Nature I know
' hath given you the strongest temper of valour and devotion, set so
' keen an edge on that temper, as I need not whet it by any further en-
' couragement; only let me tell you, that you have the fairest occasion
' that ever was to unsheath and use it; let victory set such a glasse upon
' it, as no rust of Oblivion may ever eat out. Now is the time to bring
' that dark half Moon, which seeks to eclipse the bright Sun of Heaven,
' to such a wane, as shall never fill again. Let her not any longer usurp
' domination o're the Sea: our enemies exceed us in numbers made up
' of cyphers and shadows of men, but let us excell them in resolution;
' the essence of soldiers; they are imprison'd and immur'd by shores and
' rocks, as much as I wold say victory cannot scape us; they must fight
' because they cannot fly, we because we must overcome; we have a ne-
' cessity of conquest, the danger mix'd with it doth but season and enno-
' ble it, who wold triumph over women? we are to share the whole
' wealth of Nature, the Earth to the Survivors, the Heaven to the Mar-
' tyrs: the scars of the wound will be beautiful, because honorable: who
' would ingratfully refuse to bleed for that loving God, who refus'd
' not to die for him? Courage therefore Divine Champions, forget not
' that some of you are Romanes; and which is more, all Chri-
' stians.

This Speech was answer'd with applauses and wonderfull conclama-
tions on all sides, in which humor we will leave them a while to behold
the countenance of the enemy, and how the Moon appear'd.

The Turks in the interim us'd more then ordinary circumspection and
providence; for having information by Spies, Fugitives, Greeks and
prisoners, not only of the conjunction of the Confederat Fleet of the
Christians, but of their nere approaches, being now engag'd in the
Gulph of Lepanto: Mehemet Bey was dismiss'd with sixty Gallies to
Asprospicio a Neighbour City, to bring from thence som competent
supplies of victuall and men, in which businesse he us'd such celerity,
that in short time he return'd, bringing with him plenty of provision &
ammunition, besides ten thousand *Fanzaries*, two thousand ordinary
soldiers, and two thousand Volunteers; with which multitude and
false supposition of our paucity, they were not so confirm'd in their
courage, but stood possessed of a kind of ominous mistrusting the event.
In which respect *Ali Bassa* the high Admirall, though by his own incli-
nation, and his masters command he stood resolv'd to fight, call'd a
generall Councell to deliberat on so huge a design, most of them per-
suaded to give battail, but *Parian Bassa* Generall of the Land Forces,
earnestly oppos'd it: On the contrary side *Hassan Bassa* son to *Barbaros-
sa*, sometimes Viceroy of *Algier*, a fiery yong man, and full of met-
tle, exhorted them as followeth;

' Most

' Most excellẽ and victorious Prince, the Turkish Nation hath so
 ' Nobly behav'd it self, that it is a question whether their fortune or
 ' their valour hath bred their greatnesse, or whether the latter hath
 ' commanded the former; once it may be affirm'd, that if our Starrs
 ' have favor'd us, we have not forsaken our selfs, nor shamed them, but
 ' magnified their influence by our actions: Our Predecessors have less
 ' us ample Territories, wherein we have not bin such unbrifes, but
 ' husbanded them, that if they have made little much, we have exten-
 ' ded that much almost to infinite, so that if we hold on this course of
 ' victory, *Alexander* never stood more then we in need of new worlds;
 ' which of these prying inquisitive Christians had not discover'd unto
 ' us, our valour ere long wold want work; yet let us not seem so glut-
 ' ted and cloyed with conquest, as to refuse to accept of this one tri-
 ' umph more; this by Sea will serve to counterbalance that glorious
 ' Land victory lately purchas'd; let us fill both the hands of our Em-
 ' perour, one with spoils of Land, the other of Sea; these feeble tyr'd
 ' Christians have bin but our Porters, they are now ready to deliver
 ' them, let us not disdain to take it of them, least they cozen us now, as
 ' they did my Father thirty years ago, when they ran away with their
 ' burden; we have Gallies enough, not only to stow their wealth, but
 ' if need were to take in their Gallies, therefore most invincible Admi-
 ' rall, let us prevent their flight by a speedy assault.

This Speech utter'd by a man, whose performance heretofore had e-
 ver bin correspondent to so confident expressions, not only encourag'd,
 but inflam'd many of the hearers, wherof *Fluzzali* Generall of the for-
 ces of *Barbary* could not contain himself, but with many earnest and
 pregnant arguments averr'd the same with *Hassan*; alledging besides
 the opportunity, the necessity of obeying the gran Signors command,
Caiabeg the Sanzak of *Smyrna* echoed the same.

Yet many of the graver, and more advised sort of Captains dissented
 from this more hot then deliberat resolution, specially *Mehemet Bey* the
 Sanzak of *Negropont*, who though not so eloquently, yet more truly
 demonstrated the danger of fighting, as followeth.

' I am sorry magnificent *Ali*, that at this time the Counsell of illu-
 ' strious *Hassan*, is rather to be admir'd and applauded for greatnesse of
 ' courage then follow'd for soundness, fitter to set our tounge then hands
 ' on work, I mean to be answer'd, then executed; It is most tru in raising
 ' the *Ottoman* Empire, that the Turkish valour hath ever guided their for-
 ' tune, but it is as tru, that their wisdom hath alwaies directed their va-
 ' lour, els they had never created this world of their greatnesse out of
 ' nothing, or made it out of atomes and such slender principles; they
 ' have not by posting to the end of their desires lamed or tyred the
 ' means that carried them, but by going softer have gone further;
 ' greatnesse is steep and high, not to be climb'd but leasurly, those that
 ' strive to mount up violently use to fall precipitately; such was the sud-
 ' den flood and ebb of the *Goths*, such the inundation of *Tamberlain*; one
 ' Kingdome is a sufficient crop for one year, after that rate we may soon
 ' begger Christendom, and perfect the Turkish Monarchy, as we have

won

‘won *Cyprus* and may keep it, so we may lose that and our selves too in seeking to get more: If you conceive the Christians have come so far but with resolution to fight, or to fight but with probability of prevailing, you must think them either fools or madmen; but if after so familiar and long hostility, overvaluing our selves, they hinder us not to know them, we must needs think their swords and wits to be as sharp as ours: It is not their pusillanimity but their division hath ruin’d them, & our multitudes have rather wearied then conquer’d them. From *Preveza* they departed themselves, we did not drive them, at least the shame of flying then will incite them to fight now; our odds of strength is incertain, if they be the weaker, supplies may strengthen them, if we the stronger, many accidents may weaken us, but none strengthen us: therefore my counsell is, that we go home while our way is open, and we have our welcom in our hands, and let not hope defraud us of certainty, yet is my Opinion ever subject to your correction.

This Speech was highly applauded of *Partan Bessa*, *Siroch* and *Calabey*, yet fate and their Emperours expresse command urg’d publicly by *Fluzzali*, transported them so far against their own judgement, that they resolv’d not only to hazard battail, but to seek it: To which end having distributed those 4000. soldiers wher they found most need, they weigh’d Anchor and came to *Galanga* about the evening the seventh of *October*, and ther stay’d to supply themselves and their Gallies with whatsoever was requisite for the encounter. Now drawing nere, the Admirall neglected nothing that might tend to the augmentation of strength, or for the ostentation of his vessells and men: one principall care was the fasting of his slaves, lest their bodies as well as their minds instead of necessary instruments, might prove dangerous revolted engines against them, knowing that desire of liberty and revenge, two violent appetites, would make them apt to snatch at any opportunity: he caus’d their allowance of diet to be augmented to cherish their bodies, that they might be more strenuous for labor, mixing hopes of future lenity with fear of present punishment, that stubbornesse, a thing invincible, which obdurats the minds of slaves might not hinder the utmost extent of strength: Helikewise keeping good intelligence at Sea to prevent a sudden invasion, drew forth his Fleet in order of battail, that both his men and Gallies when need requir’d might not be to learn their duty or Order, which he neglected not to practise continually as he approach’d the Christian Fleet, till he had brought them to perfection therein.

The eight of *October* very early in the morning, hoping unexpectedly to have com upon the Christian Fleet as they were at anchor, they hoisted their sails half mast high, so to hinder their discovery, and with a gentle gale sailed towards *Cephalonia*; both Fleets were within twelve miles one of another, yet undescried, by reason of certain capes and headlands dividing and shadowing them. They first ken’d the Christian Navy cleer of the *Cruzalares* which had somewhat disordred them; and seeing *Andrea Doria* stand to Sea-ward vainly, imagin’d that he had fled, as upon the like reason the Christians were deluded with the like conceit

ceit of them, which opinion as it begat contempt of the adverse part, so it bred confidence in themselves; the place where both the Fleets met serv'd aptly to fight, and not to fly.

The Gulph being in circuit not above two hundred & fifty miles, immur'd with rocks, shoers and Islands, so thick, that to fly threatned well nigh as much danger as to stay; on the *North* they were shut with part of *Albania*; extending from *S. Mauro* to *Lepanto* eighty miles; on the *East* they were embarr'd by *Morea*, stretching seventy miles from the mouth of the Gulph to Cape *Tornezzo*; on the *South* the Ile of *Zant* oppos'd her self twenty five miles in length, the *West* was clos'd up by *Cephalonia* and *S. Maura*, the one being forty, the other fifteen miles long on that Coast; on the coasts of *Albania*, scarce a mile from the main, were the rocks *Cruzulares* of an inequal bignesse, but the lesser the more dangerous: here again the Christian Fleet before conceal'd by interposition of headlands bewray'd truly her own greatnesse, which though inferior to the Turks, yet exceeding their expectation, did somewhat shake their former resolution, yet hope, shame, and which was more then both, necessity spurring them forwards, they approach'd in form following.

They divided their Fleet which consisted of two hundred seventy Vessels, Gallies, & Foists, into four battailons correspondent to that of the Christians. In the middle battail was the High Admirall *Ali Bassa*, and therein were contain'd ninety Gallies, in the midst of whom in a rich and a well appointed Gally was he himself flank'd on the right side with *Partian Bassa*, and on the left with the Tresurer of the Navy, who were assisted each of them by three Admiralls: The right wing consisted of fifty Gallies, whereof *Mehemet Strach* had the charge; the left wing included nine Gallies conducted by *VluZZali*; the reserve for supplies was a mixture of ten Gallies and twenty Foists, commanded by *Amurat Dragutras*: he himself in a beautifull and well fortified Gally, sometimes Admirall of *Constantinople*; Their main battail was oppos'd to ours; their right wing to our left, and their left to our right; ev'ry battail distinguish'd by different flags, very curiously and richly wrought; ev'ry privat Gally adorn'd with Pendants and Ensigns of great worth, which serv'd to breed an appetit in the courageous Christian rather then fear; the Galeasses they rather wondred at for hugeness of Bulk, then redoubted for offence or danger in service, thinking them fitter for burthen then fight; neither could they yet entertain an assurance that their adverse Fleet wold offer to assail them; yet did not this distraction make them neglect all possible means for their owne safety, and damage of the enemy; all unnecessary things they stow'd in hold, all needfull they brought upon the hatches; as powder, shot, pikes, arrows, and all offensive or defensive provision; ev'ry Captain encourag'd his soldiers, ev'ry soldier his fellow, and custom of victory took away all concepts of discomfiture, ev'ry one cherishing in himself the remembrance of the Christians flight at *Preveza*, the vicinity of place bringing it fresh to their apprehensions; the very winds seem'd to whisper into their ears secret arguments of prevailing, to which their credulity

credulity listned; but soon were those arguments confuted, when the wind which till now had bin still partiall unto them, became a neutral to both, and a flat calm, giving attention (as it were) to the voice of the Cannon; and not only the wind, but the Sun seem'd now to bandy against them, who having with too much light dazled the Christian Navy at the instant of joyning battail, remov'd that prejudice: Moreover, the winds, as if awakened, and come to do service to the God who made them, breath'd a gentle gale from the West, which aptly serv'd to carry away the mists of the waters, and smoak of the Ordnance upon the Turks, whose battails contain'd these principal Commanders and Gallies.

*The Turks divided their Fleet into four
Bataillons.*

The right VVing.

1. *The first was the Admirall, Mehemet Siroch Governour of Alexandria.*
2. *The second Gally of Alexandria was commanded by*

3. Carus Tabat.	Deli Aga.
Bagly Saraf.	Dardagan Bardan Bely.
Giafer Chiagey.	Castli Cuian.
Osman Celebin.	Insuf Aga.
Perusio Reis.	Insuf Magar.
Bink Cusapoli.	Calasat Chedar.
Osman Occan.	Mustafa Genovel.
Drivis Aga.	Darinigy Pery.
Bajazet Siman.	Mat Assan.
Osman Ali.	

All these had Gallies of Alexandria.

Cheder Aga.	Caia Celebin.
Solyman Bey.	Cheder Siman.
Hibraim.	Ali Cara.
Saban.	Mustafa.

Their Gallies were of Constantinople.

Juran Saba.
David Jusuf.
Solac Rais.
Arnaut Ferrat.
Juzel Memy.
Shender Selim.

Lumag Jusuf.
Bardach Celebin.
Bagdat Asau.
Guzel Allibi.
Brufali Piri.
Rodle Ali.

These Gallies were of Tripoly in Barbary.

Aga Bessa with the Admirall of Constantinople.

Sinaman Mustapha
Gregiore Ali.
Amurates Reis.

Calepy Memy.
Marul Mustapha.
Heder Lumer.

These commanded over the Gallies of Etolia.

Sinaman Dervis.
Memeney Durmis.
Algagias Sinan.
Adagi Rustan.

Chingevey Musata.
Jusuf Celebin.
Tufer Mustapha.

These also commanded over the Gallies of Despotado, or Etolia.

Ali a Genowayes, and Pyrat, Captain of a small Gally.

Megil Reis with a small Galeasse.

Mehemet Bey with the small Admirall Gally of Negropont.

The Battail had these Captains and Gallies following.

Assam Bey Governor of Rhodes.

Deli Chafer the Warden of Rhodes.

Occi Rais.
Postunag Ogli.
Gazizy Reis.
Galefa & Ogli.

of Constantinople.

Herberey.
Garagias Rais.
Ocean Rais.
Deli Piry.

Dromus Reis, with an Admirall

These commanded the Gallies of Rhodes.

Giafer Aga.
Bastian Rais.
Coz Ali.

Olach Rais.
Oluz Rais.
Assan Bassa, Barbarossa's son.

These commanded some Gallies of Constantinople.

Caruf Rais.
Jungli Ogli.
Arnaut Celebin.
Magar Ali.
Giafer Celebin.
Deli Assan.

Carapeti Aga.
Sinan Rais.
Carua Mustapha.
Sali Aravar.
Previl Aga.

Their Gallies were of Naples in Romagna.

The two sons of Ali in a Gally of Constantinople.

Osman Rais in an Admirall of Constantinople.

Deli Jusuf.

Bagdar Rais.

Ferat Baly.

Halvagi Mustapha.

Cuia Celebin.

Their Gallies were of Mitilene.

Giaut Ali Mustapha Admirall of small Gallies.

Caracoza with Gallies of Valona.

Mamatris Saderbey Governour of Mitilene.

Ali Bassa high Admirall of the Fleet in a Gally Royall.

Portau Bassa General by Land, with an Admirall Gally.

Mustapha Esdey Tresurer.

Marmati Rais.

Caras Deli.

Alicicgbl.

Ferat Ceragli.

Tramontan Rais with an Admirall of Constantinople.

Sulimum Celebin.

Pervis Sinam.

Deli Ibrain.

Dardagan Bali.

Murat Corossua.

Giafer Caran.

Denur Bali.

Dervis Sach.

Caby Heit.

Curbaly.

Murat Trasf Scribe of the Arcenal.

All these had Gallies of Constantinople.

Giafer Aga Captain of Tripoly.

Carau Hamat.

Shender Dernigi.

Rustan Chialmagi.

Maumet Alis.

Dunnis Ogli.

They commanded o're the Gallies of Tripoly.

Afis Cluega Governor of Callipolis.

Sicun Mustapha.

Selim Siach.

Salu Rius.

Heder Baschi.

Deli Ischender.

These Gallies were of Calipolis.

The Lord of Marus with an Admirall Gally of Constantinople.

Pericis la humagi.

Siran Bardachi.

Hafuf Bali.

Jusuf Cinigi.

These Gallies were also of Callipolis.

Piri Begogli with an Admirall Gally of Constantinople.

Deli Osmun.

Caia Saraf.

Piri Sinan.

Agadi Ahameth.

Demir Celebin.

Osman Seher.

Dervis Hidir.

Dervis Celebin.

Sinan Mustapha.

Giafer Rais.

Hafirgy Rais.

Dardagan the Governour of the Arcenal.

Afey Ogli.

All these were Gallies of Constantinople.

The left Wing.

Carau Hozias *Admirall.*
 Catalus a Pyrat.
 Chiazel Sinan.
 Chior Mehemet.
 Hignau Mustapha.
 Cademly Mustapha.
 Vsechiaffy Memy.

Carau Morat.
 Passa Dervis.
 Jagli Osman.
 Pisman Rais.
 Tascivis Sifman.
 Jefil Hogli.

These commanded o're the Gallies of Natolia.

Cara Cialibina *Captain of small Gallies.*

Suizi Memy.

Magli Rais.

Oscey Assan.

Gurnigi Hafuf.

They had small Gallies, and obey'd Chialibin.

Cadeh Sidir.

Osman Rais.

These two had Gallies of Constantinople.

Caraperi a Pyrat, *Captain of a small Gally.*

Julio Pervis.

Calobodan Solyman.

Jachali Mamar.

Sayr Giafer.

Chior Memy.

These had small Gallies, and were commanded by Caraperi.

Chiusef Giafer *with an Admirall of Constantinople.*

Ramazzan.

Calemy Memy.

Giesman Ferat.

Huipris Assan.

Zambal Murat.

Sarmfach Rais.

Tunis Soliman.

Calepi Jusuf.

Techodel Assan.

Cyan Memis.

Osman Bagli.

All Constantinopolitans.

Caragial *with the Admirall Gally of Algier.*

Caraman Ali.

Alman.

Sinam Celebin.

Agdagi Mustapha.

Daglias Ali.

Scith.

Pervis Selim.

Murat Dervis.

Hes Ogli.

Machazer Ali.

Joias Osman.

Sali Deli.

These had small, and some common Gallies of Algier.

Nafut Fachir with a Gallie of Constantinople.

Gymongi Mustapha.

Ruftau Cringi.

Bali.

David Ali.

Sitinau Rais.

Carum Hidir.

Magar Ferat.

Arnaut Alis.

Natis Rais.

Curmur Rhodo.

Cos Cluagin.

Cusly Memy.

All these commanded the Gallies of Negropont.

Caram Bey with the Admirall of the Sonne of Uluzzali.

Deli Murat.

Abazar Rais.

Scin Sciander.

Alman Balli.

Affan Sumbar.

Seir Aga.

Affan Sinam.

Cumy Falagan.

Osman Gynder.

These had small Gallies of Valona.

Dermat Bey.

Jufuf Alis.

Caran Alman.

Murat Biaffan.

Carabiney the Governor.

Their Gallies were of Sunafara.

Calau Baftagi.

Carabi.

Giafer Hedi.

Ferat.

Memy Beogli.

Osman Piry.

Piry Rais.

Cafam Rais.

Talaragi Rais.

Rus Celebin.

Tutur Ali.

Constantinopolitans.

Uluzzali King of Algier with an Admirall Gally.

The Battail of Succours.

Amurat Bragat in an Admirall of Constantinople.

Caram Caffi.

Haffam Rais.

Abdula Rais.

Aligau Affan.

Cus Ali.

Ginzel Ali.

Dardagno Reis had an Admirall of Constantinople.

Deli Dorni he had a Gally.

Cuidar Memy Governour of Sio.

Shetagi Osman.

Haeder.

Delius Heder.

Armat Merney.

Sufan Reis.

Giafer Bey.

Curtat Celebin.

Deli Bey.

Saudagi Memy.

These were Foists also.

Cabil Sinam.

Amurat Reis.

Sariogi Grafet.

Mor Ali.

All Foists.

Piali Murat *he had a small Gally.*

Caragiali Rais.

Murat Alias.

Assan Sinan *a Gally of Constantinople.*

Deli Sulmian *was in an Admirall of Constantinople.*

Jumez Alias.

Bostagi Murat.

} *Feists.*

So that the number of all Bottomes came to 270. Vessells.

All things thus dispos'd of, *Ali Bassa* richly cloath'd and arm'd after the Turkish manner, thus spake in the Poop of his Gally to the Captaines and Commanders ther assembled to receave direction.

'Most heroick Captains and invincible *Fanizars*, the scourge of the Christian, and right hand of the *Ottoman* Empire, we have hertofore taken pains to *fetch* our slaves, but now our enemies have *brought* them us; despairing of their successe by Land, they are come to try the same fate in another Element, as if ther were any important difference to burn on shore, and drown at Sea, they have changed place, but not spirit, the same effeminacy which they had in other parts they have transported hither, constant only in their vices and vanities; magnanimity and the effect therof, brave honor are not more hereditary and inherent in us, then cowardize and servility in them; we much exceed them in number, but more in weight of ability, *We* were soldiers when children, they children now they are men: what are their soldiers but Players, Minstrells and Tumblers, a multitude of unghelt Eunuchs? what is their Generall but a youth, fitter to lead a Mask then an Army? what are both but the remainder of this years victory, wherof *Cyprus* was the late rich earnest? neither can they so soon forget to yeeld as we to overcome: therfore be confident brave fellows in arms, that not resolution, but their destiny hath brought them hither; *Italy* is the Gate of Christendom, and *Venice* the key of *Italy*: this Fleet is that Barre, which if you can either break or put back, all lies open before you, and we shall go beyond *Casar* in the *West*, or *Alexander* in the *East*, making the rising and setting Sun the confines of the Turkish Empire. Go on then, let us fill the Sea with their bodies, our Gallies with their Wealth, our selfs with the honor and glory of both.

The Christians having in all respects provided for so great an attempt as far as human wisdom and strength could extend, (considering this Fleet to be their Ark, and God himself interested in the controversy) ceased not with importunat, but most humble invocations, to implore the aid of heaven, which by their Confessors was confidently promis'd them: Their devotions concluded, and each battail facing each other, the charge was given by a Canon from *Ali* the Turkish Admirall, and answer'd by one from each wing, with obstreperous clamours after their custom, which they think awakens the courage of the soldier, with amazement and terror to the enemy; they quickly make towards the Christian Fleet, who in a differing manner made Trumpets, Drums, Fifes, and other such Martiall music, the delightfull Prolog to a more dreadfull Scene: *Yenier* back'd his Gally with two other of *Giovanni Loredano*, and *Catarini Malipietro*; *Colonna* did the like with two other,

other; and now being within distance of their Ordnance, the Turks passing by the Galeasses, were unexpectedly torn by their great shot, which brake forth on all sides like thunder and lightning out of some black cloud: they being high and close, fearfully spoil'd the naked Turks and Rowers, making that breach at which the Christian Fleet entred, for it disordred them so, that they had no time to recollect themselves; in which confusion desperately passing the Galeasses, they ran upon a sharper point of danger, for the wind resisting the swiftnesse of their approach, stayd and set them up as dead marks to the Christian Ordnance, which had more certain aim at them lying still, then in motion and course: besides it did benight them with smoak, augmenting the terror of those invincible mischiefs which they felt, but could not see either to shun or revenge: the hideous noise of som commanding, others answering, the cracks of Gallies, falling foul of each other, terrified both the Turk who suffer'd, and the Christian which heard it, victory appearing to them in a dreadfull countenance; in som Gallies the Officers slain, the Slaves brake loose, and like Lions slaughter'd their Keepers; in others the powder taking fire casually, seem'd to rebell against them besides, shooting them up for Sacrifices to that Christ whom they blasphemed; here men falling over board wanted Gallies; here Gallies emptied of their companions wanted men, and floated like dead bodies without souls, which *Mehemet Syrock*, now finding himself a truer Prophet then he desired, observing, withdrew himself from the body of the Fleet, thinking to circumvent the Christian left wing, betwixt whom and *Siroch*, *Augustin Barbarico* oppos'd his Squadron, wherwith he shut up the passage the easier, because of a promontory call'd *Michanguli*, which extended it self that way: *Martino Contarini* resolv'd to be a sharer with his Uncle *Barbarico*, both in honor and danger, and so follow'd and united himself to that Squadron. betwixt whom a most cruentous fight pass'd on both sides: the Turkish left wing commanded by *Vluzzali*, and confronting our right, was very nere to have joyn'd with *Doria*, who considering himself inferior in number of Gallies, he having but fifty, his enemy ninety, ur'd it not: *Vluzzali* balancing with the Christian his own odds of strength, was contented likewise to abstain: *Doria* after some suspence stood out to Seaward with certain of his Gallies a mile from the remainder; in the mean time *Don John*, *Colonna* and *Venieri*, the the confederat Admiralls, in exact order incountred the middle battail of the enemy, exchanging at the approach divers volleys of great shot, with much disadvantage to the Turks; the Christian Vessells being snug and stooping from the Ordnance of the Turks higher Gallies, and many of their peeces choak'd with Christians bullets casually shot into their mouths, and ther sticking, which difficulties bred rather fury then despair in them, and induced them by violence of oars to make hast to grapple, that ther fighting hand to hand, the difference might be decided by pure Man-hood: therfore now being nearer swarmes of arrows and finall shot interchangeably stung both sides, with artificiall fires, reciprocally lightning ev'ry where: at last death and wounds drest variously

variously, were the entertainment of that visitation, whence sprung such a deluge of blood, that the Gulph of *Lepanto* might have bin call'd the Red Sea for the time. Now *Siroch* perceaving himself not onely frustrated the interposition of *Barbaricos* Squadron, but distress'd by the irresistable force of it, yet he persisted still in fight to save his honour, though not his life, using all the powerfull Rhetoric he could for the encouragement of his languishing men, wherein by speech, as well as by example, he so prevail'd, that desperation whetting resolution, they had recover'd now not only hopes of resistance, but of victory: For after divers unequall and doubtfull conflicts in many parts, here number oppressing valour, ther valour making amends for the odds of number, specially in the Gallies of the two *Barbaricos*, while with discreet courage they ran still to the weakest part, like the vitall spirits in the body: one of them was mortally wounded by a farall Turkish arrow in the left eye, himself being indeed not only the eye, but the very heart of his Squadron; he falling down, confirm'd that the Life-blood of an Army runs commonly in the veins of the chief Commander: his owne men shrunk back, the Turks intruded and press'd into his Gally, which had bin taken, but that *Frederico Nani*, and *Silvio Porcia* came into her rescue. These heroick gentlemen growing up like *Hydras* heads in the room of *Barbarico*, repell'd the Turks, and recover'd the former hopes of victory: *Porcia* receav'd a wound in his thigh, the honorable badge of valor.

In another part *Cicogna Barbarico* oppress'd with multitudes of Turkish Gallies, was (as one might say) refin'd with wild fire, and his face beautified with an eminent scar, but was at last preserv'd by speedy supplies, being so far from yeelding either to wearinesse or pain, that after this he boarded and took a principall Gally, & one of their Imperiall Ensigns, which to this day serves in the Venetian Armory to display the invincible courage of the taker: But *Siroch* surrounded with danger and mischiefs on both sides, having no means to satisfie his revenge on all, desperately rush'd upon *Giovanni Contarini*, whose kinsman was before not cheaply slain, and that such an impetuous violence, that he had almost stem'd his Gally, which he obstinately persevering to board, was ther mortally wounded, as before in judgement, so now in valour, having manifested himself a compleat and absolut soldier: his fall bred such an amazement in the Turk, as the fate of *Barbarico* in the Christian; his men slain and wounded, left their decks to their thronging enemies, who rushing in, were like to have made the Gallie a common sepulcher to both; for she being shot between wind and water, was upon point of sinking: the Turks leaped over board, hoping by swimming to find the land more mercitull unto them then the water; *Siroch* was taken not quite dead, but his wounds were search'd and found incurable, in pity rather then cruelty he was dispatch'd out of his pain. His death though it was dearly bought, was a mortall wound to the Turks whole Navy, for those that were before busied with his incounter, this right Wing or Arm being cut off, converted their forces, though much enfeebled, against the other members of the Fleet,

Fleet, assisting where they saw need and had opportunity; besides the battail of succours continually supplied and releev'd impartially all parts distress'd.

Now the two Generalls, *Don John*, and *Ali Bassa*, meeting like two furious currents, began so terrible a fight in midst of both the Fleets, that the rest seem'd to be but Spectators to them two; the Gallies that incircled them were (as it were) the Scaffold, and they two the Stage; contrariety of Religion, emulation of honor, anger, hope and fear produc'd admirable effects in both: while *Ali* made violent impression on *Don Johns* Gally on the Prow, she was by others likely to have bin entered at the Poop, which being perceav'd, was prevented by those that back'd her, who boarding those boorders, took their Gallies, but with great slaughter and difficulty. The Turkish Generall knowing the fortune of the day to depend upon his successe, desperately contend'd to inforce *Don John*, wherein he prevail'd so far, that he compell'd him to bring out of hold his fresh reserves that he had under deck, to exchange place with his wounded and wearied men upon the hatches, which strange and unexpected supply, sprung as it were out of the womb of the Gallie to defend her mother, bred an amazement, and by amazement hastned the destruction of the fainting Turks: *Ali* being shot in the head, his Gally soon yeelded, himself being yet alive and presented to *Don John*, his head was struck off, which being mounted on the point of a pike, was held up for a public demonstration of victory; a gratefull object to the Christians, but dreadfull to the Turks; the same cause bringing forth at once two contrary effects, *viz.* hope and fear, which yet lesse dismay'd them, not discerning it afar off; but the advancement of the Crosse Royall on the top of their Admirall Gally, danted them more then all the rest, for that was visible throughout the Fleet, and the fatall signification of it easily interpreted, so that now they began to fly, but in such a confusion, that while they shun the pursuit of one Gally, they fall foul upon another: besides *Marco Quirini*, and *Antonio Canali*, two Venetian Commanders, intercepted many of the Gallies flying, and men swimming to the shoare.

In this most memorable fight, many Commanders on either side were taken or slain, whose distinct Catalog shall be inserted at the end of the battail, not yet absolutely concluded: For *Fluza* foreseeing now too late this generall overthrow, studied how he might in some measure revenge what he could not prevent: therefore hovering aloof from the Fleet to expect some straglers of the Christians, at last found opportunity to cut off certain Venetian Gallies, who at first had follow'd *Doria*, but now desirous to have bin sharers in so Noble a Victory, were retiring to the main battail; them he chas'd, fetch'd up and boarded; but they bravely repelling him, and *Doria* wheeling about to assail him, knowing it dangerous for him to persevere in fight, when his own force wold continually decrease, and his enemies be augmented by confluence of rescu from all parts of the Army, executing most of his mischief upon those Venetians, he with sail down stood off to Sea, towing after him the Gallies of *Pietro Bua*, of *Corfu*, of the

Prior of *Messina*, and *Lodovico Tipico* of *Trabu*, *Benedetto Soranza* mortally wounded and oppress'd by multitudes, fighting to the very last, was slain and his Gally taken, but so that the getting (in conclusion) prov'd their losse, for many of the enemies thronging into the Gally, either by casualty or desperat malice of som Captain, she fir'd and they perish'd in a wretched mixture of death twixt burning and drowning: it seems that the fury of the slaughtered Turks reviv'd in *Yluççali*, who alone gave all the three battails som tast of his dev'lish rage; notwithstanding all those Gallies which he had taken were recover'd, except that of *Pietro Gua* of *Corfu*, in whose purchase he had a very hard bargain; the night was his best protectresse in shadowing him from the pursuing Conquerour, who now despairing to fetch him up, whom they could not see to follow, gave over the chase, and stood back to the Fleet; so that *Yluççali* escaped with about thirty Gallies; many of which could not swim, being alive, as if death had taught them that skill, floated being dead, and the Sea glutted with multitudes spued up their carcases; many labouring in the water for life, found now more safety in their wracks, then before in their Gallies, and sometimes a Turk and Christian taking hold of one plank began a privat fight, while a third took benefit of what they strove for, the Sea in the mean time becoming victor of both; here a tyred Christian calls to a friend for help; ther a Turk implores it of his enemy: Most lamentable and confus'd cries com from both, when now the billows begin to roare lower then all; for the Navy was yet scarce collected and reduc'd to a safe Haven, when towards night ther arose so sudden and violent a storm, as (if the battail had not now bin ended) wold have bin a stickler in it.

To conclude, the insolent enemy being thus overthrown, and their spoil gather'd, the next care was to cure the wounded men, and repair the bruised and torn Vessells, wherein the Commanders shew'd no lesse industry, then in preparation for the fight, and their admired valour in it. It is hard to decide, which of these three Admiralls, *Don John*, *Venieri*, or *Colonna*, merited most applause: they all did what could not be exceeded by any other, nor equalld but by themselves: the former distast twixt *Don John* and *Venieri*, as it had bin providently pacified by mediation of *Colonna*, so was it in the conquest nobly forgotten of themselves. *Don John* towards the beginning of the battail, being endangered by inequality of number, *Venieri* with his own danger bravely rescued him, like two metled Mastiffs jarring among themselves, when the Bear comes, forbear privat strife to joyn against the common enemy; which Noble courtesie, the Generall nobly and gratefully acknowledged, honoring him with the Title of Author, and which is more, the Father of the Victory.

The whole Army in united voice gratified the Divine Mercy for so great a preservation, and elevating their victorious hands to heaven, acknowledged to be taught to fight by it; ev'ry man congratulated the safety of his living friend, yet moderately lamented the fate of the dead, the sorrow of their death being dried by the merit of the cause; those bodies that were recover'd were honorably buried, the rest detain'd by the
Sea,

Sea, were yet eterniz'd on the shore. To repeat the Noble action of ev'ry particular man were a *Plutarks* labour, ev'ry life wold be a story; and we know that *Plutark* gave lifes to many, though the longest to himself; but among the most eminent, shines the Noble indifferency of the Marquis of *Santa Cruz*, who disposing of the reserve of succours, distributed them not according to his own affections, but other mens necessities, bewraying at once excellency of judgement, courage and celerity.

Many circumstances gave lustre to this victory, but nothing more then the flight of the Christian Fleet, not many years before from about the same place, the infamy of the one glorifying the other, and serving as a foil to it, as shadows set forth and enlighten pictures. It was a pleasing consideration to those who had bin forc'd to be fugitives, to think they shold find their honor where they lost it: To this may be added the remembrance of the like battail fought 'twixt *Augustus Caesar*, and *Marc Anthony*, above a thousand years past in the same place, as if destiny had made it a Stage for great actions, and that this Heroick Battail had bin but the second part of the first.

The totall number of the dead were 7656. The chief of the Venetians were *Augustin Barbarico* Proveditor Generall of the Venetian Fleet, *Benedetto Soranza*, *Marin* and *Ieronimo Contareni*, *Marc Antonio Lande*, *Francesco Bico*, *Iacomò de Messa*, *Caterin Maripietro*, *Giovanni Loredano*, *Vincento Quirini*, *Andrea* and *Georgio Barbarici*, all Senators; Of Romanes *Horatio Carassa*, *Ferrante Bisball*, *Virginio* and *Horatio Vrsini*. Of the Spaniards, *Iohn* and *Bernardino de Cardona*: Of the Knights of *Malta* divers were slain, among others these three Germans, *Ioakin Spart* Comendador of *Moguncia*, *Ro.* of *Hamburg* Comendador of *Hemmendorf*, and *Francis Drost*; the chief men wounded were *Don Iohn* the Generall, *Venieri* the Venetian Admirall, *Paolo Iordano*, *Marco Molino*, and *Troylo Savello*, and well nigh seven thousand privat men.

This great losse was lessen'd by that of the Turks, who are reported by some Authors to have lost nere upon thirty thousand: but the multitude of their Gallies taken, wrack'd, and dead bodies floating on the Sea, carrying with it a resemblance of the generall deluge, must needs acknowledge it to be great.

Among the slain was the Generall *Ali*, *Mehemet Bey*, alias *Siroch*, Governour of *Alexandria*, *Hassan Bassa Barbarossa* the great *Pyrats* Son; the greatest prisoners were *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, sons of the Generall *Ali*, *Mehemet Bey* Governour of *Eubaa*, with thirty thousand vulgar soldiers. Ther escaped *Partau Bassa*, who since others wold not follow his counsell in abstaining from fight, made use of it himself: *VluZZali* a desperat Renegado, who fought, but so alwaies that he might fly: there were taken one hundred thirty Vessells, whereof one hundred seventeen were Gallies, thirteen Galeots, som report one hundred sixty.

Ther was much treasure found in the Gally *Cleopatra*, which the Generall distributed among the best deserving: among others a *Macedonian*, by whose fortunat hand *Ali Bassa* fell, had a Noble reward, but a far Nobler by the magnificent Venetian Republic, who did

confer three hundred duckets of yearly pension upon him. But the most esteemed spoil had from the Turkish Fleet, was the redemption of so many Christians, in number twelve hundred; words are but mute expressions of the pitifull slavery they were in, being compell'd both actively and passively, to suffer for, and act against their own Religion; nothing could equall it, but the joy of this enlargement, nor was this joy peculiar and solely to themselves, but multiplied by portions among their friends and kinsmen.

The nineteenth of the same Moneth, *Humphredo Justiniano* arriv'd at Venice with advertisement of this Victory to the Senat: never any music so feasted their ears as that news: The congratulating Ambassadors flock to *S. Mark* from all Christian Princes, acknowledging him their prime Protector, and Champion.

I will conclude this Relation with the division of the spoils of the Enemies betwixt the three Generalls.

The Popes share was	{	21. Gallies, whereof 19. ordinary, 2. Galeots.
		54. Canons, whereof 12. great, 42. of the smaller sort.
		881. Prisoners, among whom were Achmat, and Mahomet, sons of the Generall Ali Bassa.
The Venetians share was	{	44. Gallies, whereof 39. ordinary, 4. Galeots and a half.
		131. Peeces of Ordnance.
		1162. Prisoners.
The Spanish share was	{	58. Gallies.
		214. Peeces of Ordnance.
		1713. Prisoners.

The division was thus concluded, though not in a proportionable rate of equality, yet to the satisfaction of all, the Venetians thinking they had the more honor, though the Spaniards the greatest luggage, and the reason might be, that the Spaniard contributed more money, though the Venetian more Gallies.

Venieri highly extoll'd the magnanimity of the General, proposing unto him the rescue of *Greece*, an exploit which should immortalize him more then the conquest of *Tunis* did his Father, whose *Genius* wold not envy, sayed he, to see it self exceeded by him, which was not equall'd by his Predecessors. This much inflam'd the hot aspiring mind of the youthfull Conquerour, insomuch that they proceeded to consultation, how this Trophy might be perfected, whose hardest work, to wit, the foundation, was already so happily layed, therefore making *April* the time, and *Corfu* the rendezvous of their next years convention, the Navies were dissolv'd, *Don Iohn* returning to *Messina*. *Venieri* expecting that *Don Iohn* wold by his example have pourfu'd the point of this victory, was much heightned in his spirits, but somewhat discontented, and the Spaniard expos'd himself to som reproaches abroad hereby, so that *Don Iohns* departure was interpreted no lesse then a kind of running away: For in the opinion of all the world, had this opportunity bin well improv'd, ther might have bin made far greater use of it: For though that high spirited Turk, to expresse the inequality of the taking of *Cyprus*, with the defeat

defeat of this Fleet, said, *That Selym had cut off an Arm of the Christians, and they had but shav'd his Beard.* Intimating therby: that *Timber* wold grow again, but not *Kingdoms*, that *Ships* might be built, but not *I-lands*; yet was it manifest, that the chief strength of that *Samson* lay at the same time in that tuff of hair, and if he had bin re-essail'd e're it had grown out again, the razor which took off his beard, might have cut his throat. Here it will not be improper to add an Answer of an old *Chious*, who being com Ambassador to *England* in King *James's* time, and being ask'd among other thin gs by the King, whether he had bin at the battail of *Lepanto*, *Yes*, sayed he, *and at the taking of Cyprus also.*

Colonna departed also with *Don John*, and return'd to *Rome*, where his fame had arriv'd long before him: This successe rais'd the spirits of that ancient City in a shape of triumph, to see her aged glory give such a fresh lustre in this glasse of victory, to entertain her new Champion; the whole City seem'd to be turn'd inside outward, the rich Tapistries now beautifying the wals without, the streets were strew'd with flowers as at a marriage: It is reported that a little before this battail, the Pope *Pius Quintus* had perform'd many rigid and austere Penances in his own person, and having bin a whole night contending with God in prayer, in his own privat Oratory; he came at last suddenly out with a cheerfull countenance, and in a kind of ravishment or extasie, saying, *alegramente la Vittoria è nostra*, be of good cheer the Victory is ours, and as the Manuscript hath it, this was the very morning before the battail began.

No lesse were the triumphs at the Court of Spain, when tydings were brought to *Philip* the second of this Signall and glorious Victory; yet when the very first, and long expected news therof was brought and related unto him, he never chang'd countenance, or gave as much as a smile, or least outward shew of alteration, he was a man of such a rare constancy of temper, only he sayed after a long speculative pause, *Mucho ha aventurado mi hermano Don Juan*, my brother *Don John* hath ventur'd very far, but it was the first time that ever he was heard to call him *Brother*, which stile he continued ever after.

The *Republic* hoping that the rest of the Christian confederat Princes wold be constant in the League, rigg'd up their Gallies again, and made great preparations against the following Spring, but *Pius Quintus* decreasing, who gave the greatest vigour to the League, matters began to languish; yet ther was a conjunction of som forces the Sommer after against *Fluzali*, a great Pyrat, and Admirall to the Turk; and there were considerable Fleets on both sides, the Turk had two hundred Sails, the Christians not so many, and about the *Mona* they twice fac'd one another, but encountred not; so all dissolv'd without performance of any thing, though *Venieri* made fair Propositions unto them for som attempts. both by Land and Sea, and to be the first in the Van himself, but the Spaniard was too cold and cautious, besides *Don John* of *Austria* himselfe had promis'd to come in person, but did not.

Hereupon it was high time for the *Republic* to hearken to a peace with her potent Neighbour, specially ther having bin divers Overtures made by the Gran Visier to that purpose: among other inducements

which might move her thereunto was, that the Spaniard was not able as formerly to continue the League, in regard he had so much new work cut him out in *Flanders*, by the revolt of som of the seventeen Provinces: Moreover the Senat had notice that an Ambassadour was come from *Constantinople* to the Emperours Court, to desire safe passage for the Turkish Army to passe through some of his Territories to invade *Franks*; besides the Bishop of *Aix*, who was Ambassador at the Court, for the King of *France*, advis'd her in his Masters name to a peace, for which purpose he came himself expressly to *Venice* afterward: so after much difficulty, and divers proposalls on both sides, a peace was at last solemnly concluded; the two main Articles whereof were, that all the Venetian Merchants goods shold be restor'd unto them which were taken by Turks in so many years, and that the Signory shold pay a hundred thousand Crowns for three years.

The world pass'd sundry censures of this peace, specially in regard the Venetians had done it without the consent of the other Confederats; *Paul* the third then Pope storm'd at it, but the King of *Spain* seem'd to dissemble his discontent, saying, *That he doubted not, but that the motives which shold induce so wise a Senat were of great importance, hoping that as he had freely employed his forces for the generall incolumity of Christendome, and particularly of the Venetian, so they likewise wold if occasion requir'd be ready to do the like for him*; The world wondred at this calmnesse in the Spaniard, and the reason which peeple alledg'd then, was the revolutions in the Low Countreys, and that he was like to fall out with *France*, with whom he was loth the Venetian shold ligue together against him.

Notwithstanding this solemn peace with *Selim*, yet the Republic understanding that *Amurath*, who had newly succeeded in the *Ottoman Empire* upon the death of *Selym*, did arm apace to be reveng'd upon *Spain*, in regard that *Don John* of *Austria* had lately sack'd *Tunis* in *Barbary*; this made the Republic apprehend som fears, that the Turk wold fall foul up in some of their Dominions, specially the Ile of *Candy*: hereup on she rigs up her Gallies again, but in the interim a *Chiaus* comes from *Constantinople* in quality of Ambassador extraordinary from *Amurath* to confirm the former peace.

This year 1573. The Duke of *Anjou* having bin newly elected King of *Poland*, and scarce settled in the Throne, and understanding his brother *Charles* was deceas'd in *France*, and fearing to lose the *Lily* for a *Thistle*, (viz. *France* for *Poland*) got away surreptitiously from *Cracovia*, accompanied only with three followers, and passing through the Territories of divers Princces, came at last to *Italy*, with a curiosity to see the admired City of *Venice*; being come upon the Confines, he was met by a gallant troupe of Noble men, with eight hundred well arm'd soldiers: the next day four of the Senators came to him from *Venice* in quality of Ambassadors; the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Nevers* came also to visit him: so being attended by infinite numbers of peeple, he came first to *Murano*, where the next day he was visited by the Prince and Senat with fourteen Gallies; and being conducted thence to *Lia*, he entred

entred the *Bucentoro*, together with the Prince and Senat; from thence with mighty magnificence he transported to *Venice*, all the channell 'twixt the City and *Lia* thronging with Boats, made in fashion of Sea Monsters, wherein were all the youth of *Venice* richly attir'd, with infinite number of Gondolas, which row'd before, and on ev'ry side of the *Bucentoro*, which was gently tow'd to the Palace stairs, where he remain'd divers daies, and was entertain'd to the height of all magnificence, and here began that great League of Love which hath continued so firm 'twixt *France* and *Venice* ever since; but presently after the Kings departure, ther happen'd an ill-favor'd disaster, for the Prince celebrating the day of his Election, the Ducall Palace was like to be all consum'd by a casuall fire, and a fearfull plague remov'd it selfe from *Trent* to *Venice*, where it began to rage fearfully; thereupon no humane remedy appearing, the Prince and Senat had recourse to God Almighty, and meeting in the highest postures of reverence at *S. Marks Church*; the Prince in all their Names made a solemn Vow to God, to build a Church and dedicat it to the worlds Redeemer, imploring his Divine Majesty with heart and mouth, that it might please him of his infinite mercy to hear them, and appease his just wrath; it pleas'd God that this furious contagion did thereupon cease in a wonderfull manner: The Church was suddenly built at *La Zuecca*, whither the Prince and Senat go in solemn procession every year ever since; *Baromeo* did also, as they write, strange penances in *Milan* for asswagement of such a contagion the same year.

SEBASTIANO VENIERI succeeded MOHENIGO in the principality, the peeple with extraordinary acclamations extoll'd this Election to the very Stars, in regard he had done such exploits while he was Generall so long at Sea, both in the battail of *Lepanto*, and elsewhere: but that which seem'd most strange, was, that among such multitudes of all sorts of peeple who went to congratulat his new Dignity, ten Turks who were then in *Venice* came and kiss'd his feet, saying aloud, *This is that invincible Generall, who by defeating our Fleet and us, hath justly purchas'd to himself this deserved Crown of honor, unto whom we wish a long and happy life.*

1574

Pope Gregory the thirteenth sent him a little after a Rose of Gold, which useth to be one of the greatest favors that the Pope useth to confer upon Princes. *Alexander* the Third sent the like in the year 1177. to *Sebastiam Ciani*, for preserving him from the fury of the Emperour *Barbarossa*.

Old VENIERI had scarce govern'd nine moneths, but being stricken deeply in years, and having lost much bloud in the warres, he payed nature her last debt; the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, with other Princes, desir'd to have his picture; and about the same time, Anno 1578. *Don John* of *Austria* died in the *Netherlands*, having bin both Generalls in the battail of *Lepanto*.

NICOLO PONTE a grave and learned Senator succeeded VENIERI in the Dukedome, being aged eighty eight years; *Francisco de Medici*, great Duke of *Toscany*, a powerfull Prince in those daies, was desirous

1575

to marry *Signora Bianca* daughter to *Capello* a Venetian gentleman; to which end he sent *Maria Sforza* to acquaint the Senat; the Senat sent for *Capello* and his Son *Vittorio*, whom they Knighted; then they adopted *Bianca* who was to be Gran Duchesse, daughter to the Signorie, in the same manner as they had done *Catharina* Queen of Cyprus.

This year divers new Constitutions were enacted against lux in apparell.

1. The use of all sorts of Perl, tru or counterfeit, was prohibited, onely women might weare a small collar about their necks.
2. Costly Skins and Furrs were wholly forbid to be worn.
3. All gold and Silver Lace was prohibited upon garments.
4. No Courtezans must wear any Jemms or Jewells, or use any Tappistry.
5. Excessive expences were forbidden at womens Churchings, and the extraordinary invitation of friends, except nere kinsfolk, was restrained.
6. A decree was made against all superfluous diet, and that no double dish of fish or flesh should be serv'd in. These Laws are exactly observ'd to this day.

In this Dukes time, and partly by a hint given from him, the *Calendar* was reform'd: for Pope Gregory the XIII. finding by consultation with the best Astronomers, that because the Solar motion had not bin rightly observ'd, the *Vernal Equinoctiall* had gotten ten daies before the course of the Sun, whereby the Feast of Easter, whereon all other moveable Feasts depended, was not celebrated at the just time appointed in the Primitive Church by the Councell of Nice; the incongruity thereof was, were it not reform'd, that the *Festivalls* of Winter will be celebrated in Sommer, and those of Sommer in Winter: hereupon the chiefeft *Mathematicians* of Europe were summon'd to Rome, to confer their speculations about this point, and commanded after an exact calculation of the course of the Planets, to refer the *Vernal Equinoctiall* to the twenty one of *March*, as it had bin in old time decreed by the Fathers of the sayed Councell of Nice, and so to find out some rule, that the same inconvenience might be for ever remov'd; These learned men did what the Pope commanded, by referring the *Equinoctiall* to its true place; and by taking for once ten daies from *October*: the Pope concurring with them in opinion, and being a great Theorist himself, enjoin'd this computation to be observ'd all Christendome over, *Lodovicus Lilius* a famous Astronomer, was one of the chiefeft instruments in this businesse, 1581.

In this Dukes time ther happen'd a contrasto 'twixt the Republic and the Knights of *Malta*, because they had taken some Turkey Vessells in the Venetian Seas, whereat *Amurath* did thunder out a revenge; the Republic complain'd to the Gran Master, intreating him to forbear the taking of any Turkish Vessells in her Seas, while the peace lasted 'twixt Her and the Port; but the *Malteses* making no account hereof, the Venetian Gallies took from them a Galeon which they sent into *Candy*, and not long after two Gallies more, which being brought to *Corfu*, all the Turkish

Turkish slaves in them were set at liberty, and the empty Gallies restor'd to the Knights.

The Venetians also the same year to satisfy the Turk, caus'd publicly to be beheaded *Gabriele Meme* a gentleman of *Venice*, in regard that meeting with a Turkish Galeot passing from *Algier* to *Constantinople*, with the Vice-Queen of that Kingdome and her children, who carried rich presents to *Amurat*, the sayed *Heme* put to the sword all the Turks in the sayed Galeot, and freed the Christian slaves.

1583

PASCHALE CIGOGNA came to be the next Duke of *Venice*, in his time an Academy was instituted in *Venice*, at the instance of some choice gentlemen; besides that exact and admirabl Fort *Nova Palma* in *Friuli* was erected with so much expence and enginry; that miraculous high arch'd Bridge at the *Rialto* was reat'd up also in his time.

1584

MARINI GRIMARCI succeeded CIGOGNA in the Government, in his time a smart little warre happen'd 'twixt the *Vscocchi* and the Republic, who committed daily depredations upon the Coasts of *Dalmatia* and *Istria*, but they were quickly chastis'd and restrain'd by *Phileppo Paschali*; *Theodoro Balbi* was also employed against some *Barbary* Pyrats, who scumm'd the Seas far into the Gulph, he took from them three Galeots, and set many hundred Christian slaves at liberty, and so terrified them, that they durst look no more that way.

It fell out in this Dykes time, that the Clergy of *Padona* having vehemently protested against *Francisco Zabarella*, for the sure prefer'd to sell certain ancient Church Lands, the Senat made a Decree, that the Church shold not appropriat to her self rents posses'd by the Laity, grounding that Decree upon a prohibition made by the Senat, Anno 1333. that no Land's shold be given or bequeath'd in perpetuity to any Church within the City and Signory of *Venice*, and if any were left, they shold be sold by a certain time prefixt, and the money arising out of the sale to be o ly theirs, alledging for reason, that the Clergy who pretend themselves and their goods to be exempt from all necessary charges belonging to the Common-wealth, the number of them daily increasing, and on the contrary, that of the Citizens still decreasing, who seive and busie themselves in the Civill Government, and the quantity of their goods, whereon the public revenue depends, beginning to fail, in the end all Wealth wold of necessity fall to the Clergy: this Law was variously observ'd till the year 1536. when it was reduc'd to this form, *That none of what quality soever shold give Lands to the Church, but only for two-years space, after which time they shold be sold, and if the sale were not made by the Clergy, a Civill Magistrat shold be appointed to do it, this being consider'd by the Senat, it hath ever since bin practis'd generally throughout the whole Republic.*

The year 1603. the Senat decreed, that no Venetian Citizen of what degree soever, shold within the precincts of the City without the Senats consent build any new Church, Hospitall or Monastery, yet did not the Senat totally prohibit any such buildings, but because the Prince and State as Superiours wold consider whether it were needfull or no, ther being already in the City one hundred fifty Churches, Monasteries, and Hospitalls, with other like places of devotion

In this Dukes time the famous Fort call'd *Nova Palma* was finish'd; which is thought to be the goodliest, and built more exactly according to the modern rules of enginry, then any in all *Italy*, the expences whereof *viis & modis* were estimated to be half a million of Crownes; there was another strong Castle erected also in *Cephalonia*; that stupendous Arch in the *Rialto* was also perfected, having thirty six staires on each side built of the stones of *Istria*.

In the year 1605. Pope *Clement* the eighth deceas'd, and *Alexander de Medici* succeeded, who liv'd not a moneth to an end; the Cardinalls proceeding to a new Election, and desirous to make hast, the Cardinalls *Farnese* and *Montalto* went to Cardinall *Aldobrandini*, intreating him to name three among the whole Colledge of Cardinalls (*Tuscan* and *Baronius* excepted) and one of those three shold be created; therupon Cardinall *Borghese* was chosen by the name of *Paulus Quintus*.

The *Venetian* Clergy, notwithstanding the Senats decree, did daily more and more augment and improve their revenues, as well within and about the City as abroad; the Senat for reducing the State to one conformable custome, had before, as it hath bin sayed, divulg'd their decree through all their Dominions, and added therunto a Prohibition, That none within the City or Signory under what colour soever, shold sell, give, or in any sort alienate Lands to the Clergy, without the Senats Commission, which shold not be granted, but with the same solemnities usuall at the alienation of the public Revenue, and all the Alienations made otherwise shold be declar'd void, the Lands confiscat, and the Notaries punish'd: *Paul* the V having notice of this Law, did strictly examin it, and wold by no means approve of it; but towards the end of *October* the same year, complain'd therof to the *Venetian* Ambassador at his time of public audience, saying, That whilst the Sea of *Rome* was vacant, the *Venetians* had made a Law which prohibited the Clergy to purchase Lands, adding, that though it were made upon urgent occasion, as they pretended, and by vertue of a former Decree, yet the Canons disannull'd them both, therefore his pleasure was to have them repeal'd, injoyning the Ambassador accordingly to signifie so much unto the Republic.

The Ambassador did what the Pope injoynd him, and within a while after he receav'd instructions and a Commission from the Senat, to acquaint his Holines with the equity of their cause, and Justice of their Law, together with the Signories decree, and unquestionable authority to passe such decrees: The Pope being confident in his own Opinion, sayed aloud, that he gave him Audience only to content the *Venetians*, but not to admit any of his propounded reasons or excuses; Then he made another complaint about the detaining of a Canon of *Vicenza*, and the Abbot of *Nervese*, both of them accus'd of notorious Crimes; And within a while after, concerning another Law forbidding to build Churches without permission, being resolv'd to have those two Laws revok'd, and the prisoners delivered to his Nuncio residing in *Venice*: hereupon on the tenth of *September*, he pass'd two Injunctions, one concerning the two Laws, the other about sentencing the Cler-

Clergy; so he sent a Commission accordingly to his *Nuncio* to present them; resolving upon their refusal to proceed to *Excommunication*; but the *Nuncio* being peradventure mov'd with pity because the Senat at that time had chosen an extraordinary Ambassador, by humble means thinking to divert his Holines from his resolution, and to induce him to consider better of the matter, delayed the presenting of those *Injunctions*, which the Pope took in ill part; whereupon in all hast he sent him an expresse Commandement, to present them without further procrastination; In regard whereof upon *Christmas* day when Duke *Grimani* lay at the point of death, and that the Senators were solemnly assembled, som wherof had receav'd the Holy Sacrament, and others were ready to receive, the *Nuncio* craved Audience, and produc'd the two *Injunctions*, but the Dukes death hapning the next day, they were not open'd till after the Election of the new Prince.

LEONARDO DONATO Knight and Procurator of *S. Mark* succeeded GRIMANI, after whose Election the two *Injunctions* being open'd, were found to be both of one substance, which in effect was, That his Holines was advertised that the Venetian Senat had decreed divers things contrary to the Liberty of the Church, and Authority of the *Sea Apostolic*, and divulg'd through all the Dominions of the Signory certain Laws peculiar only to the City of *Venice*, forbidding to build Churches or Monasteries, or to alienat the secular possessions of the Clergy without the Senats permission, which, as repugnant to the Churches Liberty, his Holines declared to be invalid, and they who enacted them to have incur'd Ecclesiasticall censures, commanding them under pain of *Excommunication*, presently to revoke and abrogate the sayed Lawes, threatning to proceed further in case they did not conform.

1605

To this the Senat answer'd 28. of *Jan. Anno 1606.* as followeth: That with grief and amazement they understood by his Holines Letters, that he dislik'd the Laws of the Venetian Republic, prospectively observ'd for so many Ages, and never tax'd by any of his Predecessors, the revokement wherof wold not only shake, but utterly overthrow the very fundamentalls of the State; that he interpreted those Laws to be prejudiciall to the *Sea Apostolic*, and the Authority thereof, blaming those who had made them as infringers of the Churches Liberty, notwithstanding that they were known to be persons of singular piety, and to have done good service to the *Sea of Rome*; and were now doubtlesse in heaven; that the Senat according to his Holines advertisement had narrowly examin'd both the New and Old Laws, and could find nothing in them but what might be decreed by a Sovereign Prince, concluding, that the Venetians did not think they had incur'd any censures, and that therefore his Holines so repleat with Religion and Piety, wold not without pondering well the cause, continue his menaces.

This answer did much displease the Pope, who presently awarded an *Excommunication* against them, which on the seventh day of *April* of the same year was publish'd throughout all *Rome*, and hung up in the

usuall places, namely on the great Gate of *S. Peter's Church*, the Chancery and Market place of *Campo di Fiore* by *Christophoro Fonduto* and *Gio. Dominico* dispace the Popes Pourfuyvants.

The Prince and Senat having intelligence of what had pass'd at *Rome*, to prevent all popular tumults and commotions which might peradventure thereby arise in the Towns and Cities subject to their Jurisdiction, were desirous to acquaint all sorts of people therewith; to which end they fram'd two Declarations, the one directed to all the Clergy of their Dominions, and the other to all secular Magistrates and Officers, to stop and restrain all disorders that might hence ensue; wherupon all that year divers books were written *pro* and *con*, some condemning the Venetians, others the Pope, ev'ry one as his passion did transport him; but at last this great contention had like to have bin decided by the sword, both sides making preparations for war. For the Venetians having understood that a great number of Foot and Horse was levied at *Ferrara*, and that the Romanes had offer'd to aid the Pope in that war with men and money; They likewise rais'd forces accordingly, and fell to fortifie their Towns with greater strength, because they wold not be surpriz'd, or taken unprovided, so that there was a great likelihood of an eager bloody warr, had not *France* vigorously appear'd as *Mediatrice* in the businesse.

Hereupon *Henry* the III. to prevent the danger and scandall which might arise by this war, did speedily send the Cardinall *Joyeuse* both to the Pope and the Venetians from him, and in his name to intercede for a peace amongst them, which Embassie took very good effect; for the Cardinall being speedily dispatch'd from *France* with instructions & other dispatches necessary for his Negotiation, He arriv'd at *Rome* on a Thursday night 23. *Marsii* 1607. and the same Evening confer'd with the Cardinalls and the French Ambassador there resident, to propound the businesse to his Holines: therupon the next day the Cardinall accompanied with the Leger Ambassadour, went to see his Holines, unto whom the Cardinall did largely relate the occasion of his coming; But the Pope seem'd to be inexorable to any terms of agreement with the Venetians, til the Clergy and Jesuits (who had bin banish'd not long before) were restor'd to their Churches & Colledges; The Cardinall at this first Audience wold not put him out of hope of their restitution, but only told him, that he did not despair of reconciling the Jesuits to the Venetians, having bethought himself of a fit meanes, whereof if his Holines wold not make use, he doubted not but it wold be prevalent.

The Pope being much desirous to know this new devise, did the next day early send for him, then the Cardinall *de Joyeuse* told him, *That so hope by any expresse Treaty to obtain of the Venetian Senat the restauration of the Jesuits, were but to spend time to no purpose, but if his Holines wold give ample Commission and Authority to revoke the Censures, and send him to Venice with such a power, some good might be done upon the public producement of the sayed Commission.*

The Pope made shew, that he neither could nor wold approve of this motion;

motion, therefore he sayed, *That he had engag'd his promise not to abandon the Iesuits, who had bin expuls'd for favouring his Interdiction, unto whom he had pass'd his word never to be reconcil'd to the Venetians, till they were re-establish'd;* but after sundry other Allegations, this conference was to little purpose, ev'ry man perceaving by his Holines countenance that he was perplex'd.

The French Cardinall and others meeting to reconcile these differences, and remove the difficulties, entreated Cardinall Perron to go the next day after dinner, to get expresse Audience of the Pope, and if it were possible to induce him to grant certain points for the advance of the businesse.

Cardinall Perron at their intreaty undertook the task, and a good while debated the point with his Holines about the restoring of the Iesuits, shewing him the danger whereunto he expos'd the Church and Christian Religion for one particular Order, whose restauration was to be hop'd for thereafter, though for a time defer'd: *He told him that his Holines shold first re-establish his own Authority in Venice, and that being once done, ther was no doubt but the other might follow after:* So after many other prevalent reasons, Perron obtain'd of the Pope, that seeing for the present he could not prevail in the Iesuits behalf, he shold let it passe, and insert a Clause in the Article, whereby it might appear to the world, that he had not neglected their restauration: then the Cardinall speaking of the Commission, the Pope wold hardly be drawn therunto, supposing it to be dishonorable to the Sea Apostolic, *in regard that the revocation of Censures ought to be done at Rome, and not sent to Venice;* yet the Cardinal alledging divers reasons to the contrary, the Pope at last consented to give the Cardinal Joyeuse Commission to revoke the Censures which he shold carry with him to Venice, but on this condition, to do his best for the restauration of the Iesuits, before he disannull'd the Interdiction. He also, though with som difficulty, induc'd his Holines to be pleas'd that the French Ambassador resident at Rome, and not he who lay at Venice, shold in the French Kings, and the Signories Name, crave of him the revocation of the Censures in writing; for the Pope told him that the Spanish Ambassador resident at Venice had crav'd it in the name of his Master and the Republic; In a word, the Pope granted all his demands, only he seem'd unwilling to declare his intention to the Consistory, saying, that he suppos'd he ought not to do it publicquely, because he had not yet acquainted the Cardinalls herewith; neverthelesse he wold resolve upon't, and the next day in the Consistory wold impart it to som particular Cardinalls, and the same afternoon call one after another into his Chamber, to take their suffrages in secret: According to this resolution, the Pope having in the Consistory declar'd his intent to som particular Cardinalls; he did the same afternoon call the rest into his Chamber, secretly to take their Opinions, and in that businesse spent the whole week.

The Spaniards being not well pleas'd, that they were not sought unto in this businesse, and desirous to frustrate the matter, divulg'd certain rumors contrary to the Popes will and meaning, and among others, a

cunning letter was written by *Don Francisco de Castro*, wherein he certified the Pope, that if he stood first for restoring the *Jesuits*, he was likely to obtain, it and that the Republic determin'd to make a Protestation, by surrendering the Prisoners contrary to that which had bin concluded, and which his Holines had promis'd to himself: these false rumors distracted the Pope, who therupon made som difficulty to proceed further; but Cardinall *Perron* solliciting him, and assuring him of the contrary, he deliver'd, according to his former resolution, the Commission to Cardinall *Joyeuse*, willing him to make hast to *Venice*.

The Spaniards being not able to crosse this resolution, made sute to have Card. nall *Zapata* joyn'd in Commission with Cardinall *Joyeuse*, but their labour in that point was lost, and yet in other Solemnities *Zapata* and the Spanish Ambassadour had in appearance som intelligence with the French Ministers; because in the Kings Name they were Sureties for the Signory, as were Cardinall *Joyeuse* and the French Ambassador for his Christian Majesty; yet the world accounted it but a vain and idle fable, for they had no such Authority from the Republic, as had the French, who executed their Commission to their Kings advantage and honor.

Cardinall *Joyeuse* with the Commission receav'd from his Holines containing the conditions wheron the Censures were to be revok'd, being in number six, goes on his journey: The conditions were to this effect, 1. That the two Churchmen prisoners, namely the Abbot of *Ner-veze*, and the Chanon of *Vicenza*, shold be freely given to the Pope. 2. That his Holines shold revoke his Censures, making a Declaration therof to the Colledge. 3. That the Venetian Signory shold within a while after send an Ambassage to the Pope: That the Venetian Duke by a Declaration shold certifye the Clergy under the *State*, that the first Declaration is revok'd: That the three Decrees mention'd in the Popes Interdiction, and other Laws of the Signory shold continue in their full force and power, with this *Proviso*, That the Senat shall promise the French and Catholic King, not to execute them till the businesse be fully concluded twixt his Holines and the Signory, having first more amply inform'd the Pope of the justice and equity of those Laws: Lastly, that all Churchmen and Religious Orders which are banish'd and expuls'd from *Venice*, or the Jurisdiction therof, by reason of these troubles, may return home to their houses and Convents; but concerning the return of the *Jesuits*, his Holines is contented to defer it, till an Ambassador from the Signory hath treated particularly with him concerning that point, certifying him, that their expulsion proceeds from certain causes and reasons which have no community with the Interdiction, and if it shall be found otherwise, then to admit their restoration, as well as of other Ecclesiastiques. Now Cardinall *Joyeuse* departed from *Rome* with his Commission, and the Articles aforesayd and arriv'd at *Venice*, wher he was extraordinarily entertain'd, many Senators going to meet him in the *Bucentaure*; the next day one of the States Secretaries accompanied with the Captain and other Officers of the Prison were sent to him; and for the greater solemnity, with a public

public Notary, brought the two prisoners to the House of *Monsieur du Fresne* Ambassador for the French King at *Venice*, and deliver'd them unto him, as granted to the Pope at the instance of the King his Master, without prejudice to the States Jurisdiction in such cases, and the French Ambassadour did presently consign them to the hands of Cardinall *Joyeuse*, who was in the same House in the presence of the Secretary, with these words, *These are the prisoners which the Signory hath granted to his Holines*, not adding at whose entreaty, and so the Cardinall receav'd them as his proper prisoners, wherunto the Secretary at that time made no reply; In this manner, by this omission on the one part, and silence on the other, it seemed that som did not well understand what remain'd betwixt the Pope and the Signory.

The next morning the Cardinall came to the Colledge, and after som circumstances of the Popes Fatherly goodnesse, he assur'd them that the Censures were revok'd, so having given them his Benediction, he went to celebrat the Masse in the Patriarks Church; the Dukes first Declaration was revok'd also in this manner.

LEONARDO DONATO, by the Grace of
God, Duke of *Venice*, &c.

To the reverend *Patriarks*, *Archbishops*, and *Bishops* of our State and Jurisdiction of *Venice*, and to the *Vicars*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Rectors* of *Parish Churches*, and all other *Ecclesiasticall* peeple, Greeting.

Seeing it hath pleas'd our good God to find out a way whereby our Holy Father Pope Paul the V. hath bin duly inform'd, as well of our good meaning, as of the integrity of our actions, and continuall honor and reverence which we bear to the See of Rome, and thereby to take away all cause of strife, we, as we have ever desir'd and procur'd Unity and good correspondence with the sayed See, of which we are loving and obedient children, do receive likewise this contentation, to have at last obtain'd the accomplishment of our holy desire, therefore we thought good by our Declaration to advertise you herof, giving you besides to understand, that whatsoever did belong herunto, hath bin faithfully perform'd on both parts, and the Censures and Interdiction remov'd, the protestation likewise we made against them, hath bin, and is revok'd, we being desirous, that herin, as well as in all other our actions, the Piety and Religion of our State may still more and more appear, which we will carefully observe as our Predecessors have ever done.

Given in our Ducall Palace the 21. of Aprill 1607.

Sign'd, Marco Ottobon Secretary.

The Duke having publish'd this Declaration, the Senat was not a little perplext with a doubt of no mean consequence, which was, that the
Pope

Pope for his part having made no mention at all concerning books and writings publish'd in the behalf of the sayed Decrees, nor of the Authors of the sayed books, which were two very important points, and which did threaten a breach of the whole reconciliation; the State doubting that the Pope by this silence and Omission had an intent to proceed afterwar'ds against the Authors of the sayed books, by the ordinary way of Ecclesiastical Justice, and thinking it dishonorable to abandon those that had done them so good and faithfull service, after mature consultation, the Senat made a very notable and honorable Decree, that the Signory shold protect them against all dangers, and assign them a perpetual Pension.

A particular Narratif of the notable Contestation twixt *Paulus Quintus*, and the Republic of *Venice*, 1606. &c.

NOW, in regard that every Corner of Christendome did ring aloud, and sounds yet to this day of that high Contestation twixt Pope *Paulus Quintus* and the Republic, I shall spend a little more oil and labour to acquaint the judicious Reader with the circumstances thereof.

Paulus Quintus having ascended to the Pontificat, the bent of all his consultations were to advance the Priviledges of the Church, and mortifie the presumption, (those were his words) of such secular Princes and States that seem'd to bandy against them, specially of the Signory of *Venice*, wherupon he employed thither in quality of Nuncio, *Horatio Mathei* Bishop of *Gierace*, a man so fervent in this cause, that in full Assembly he told the Duke of *Venice*, That Almes and other works of piety, the frequenting of the Sacraments, with all other good and Christian actions, ad nihilum valent ultra, were nothing available, if men did not favour the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction: In privat Communication he also sayed, That he had heard the piety of the City of *Venice* often and amply magnified, yet he himself could perceive but little, considering that Christian perfection doth not consist in deeds of charity and devotion, as much as in exalting the Ecclesiasticall Authority, which is the true Cement of that perfection.

Ther happen'd a little difference betwixt *Paul* the V. and the Republic of *Luca* at this time, who in regard that many of her Citizens having chang'd their Religion, had retir'd themselves to Protestant Countreys, She publish'd an Edi&t by which all her Subjects were forbidden to have Commerce, or to correspond any way with such persons: This Edi&t being come to the Pope, he highly approv'd of the Law, but he sayed, That the State of *Luca* had no Authority to make any such Ordinance of her self, because it concern'd Religion; therefore he commanded that the sayed Edi&t shold be raz'd out of the Records, promising to form another which shold be the same in substance, but to be publish'd by his Pontificall Authority.

Ther

Ther happen'd about this time another clash 'twixt him and the Republic of *Genoa*, who being inform'd that the Governors of certain lay-Fraternities, instituted by devotion, had not dispens'd the revenue with requisite fidelity, She resolv'd to examin their accounts, to which effects the books were commanded to be brought before the Duke; but this was not well accepted by *Paul* the V. therfore he gave the Republic of *Genoa* to understand, that these proceedings were against the Liberty Ecclesiastical, So he expressly enjoyn'd them to revoke their Edicts, otherwise he wold proceed to the Censure of Excommunication: both these States complied with the Pope, but the State of *Venice* was more stiff-neck'd, and constant in the maintenance of her Decrees.

The first cloud of discontent 'twixt this Pope and the *Venetians* appear'd, when he having solicited the Republic for a contribution of summs of money to aid the Emperor in the warrs of *Hungary* against the Turk, he receav'd from her a complementall deniall: He afterwards propos'd the revocation of an Ordinance made by the Senat a little before, forbidding the Subjects of the Signory to set forth any Vessells by Sea, or to make any assurances or Companies for the traffic of any Merchandize whatsoever, to be exported out of the State of *Venice* into any other Countreys, unlesse it pass'd first by *Venice*, alledging that this wold hinder the Commerce in the State of the Church and was against the Ecclesiasticall Liberty.

The Republic answer'd herunto, *That ev'ry Prince commands his Subjects, in that which may serve for the commodity of his own Estate, without considering what may follow thereupon to neighbour Princes, who cannot justly be therewith offended, howsoever they may be in some sort incommoded; therfore whensoever his Holines shall command his Subjects any thing which may turn to the profit of his Government, the State wold not take it in ill part, nor esteem it against their Liberty.*

The Pope perceaving by this Essay that he could not compasse his ends, these differences being not within the bounds of things spirituall; and finding that his desires were so little prevalent with the *Venetian*, thought to be quit with him som other way, and an opportunity was offer'd a little after; touching one *Scipio Saraceno* Canon of *Vicenza*, and upon the complaint of a young gentlewoman his cosen, whose doore and ring therof (which is a common kind of revenge in *Italy*) he had besmear'd with excrements, and don her som other wrongs; she herupon complain'd to the Senat, who therupon cited and imprison'd the Canon, complaints herof being made to the Pope, the Republic answer'd, *That the just Title and Authority which She hath to judge Ecclesiasticall persons in causes criminall, were founded on the power of a naturall Prince; and on custome, never interrupted by the space of a thousand years and upwards, which hath bin approv'd of by the Popes Breves themselves, yet extant in the public Archives.*

This being deliver'd by the *Venetian* Ambassador to Pope *Paul*, he receav'd it with som impatience, saying, *That the reasons alledg'd were frivolous, that to judge of an affair, it was to no purpose to ground it upon*

custom, which is often so much the worse as it is ancient; and for the Breve's, ther were no other Archive of the Papall Breve's but at Rome; that those which they pretended for their justification were but wast papers, &c.

To this occasion ther was superadded another, which was the imprisoning of Count *Brandolin Valdemanno* Abbot of *Nervesa*, as was formerly mention'd; the Pope sent Order, that both the sayed Count & Canon shold be releas'd, but the Senat pass'd it over with a complement; the Pope also excepted at that Decree in *Venice*, 'That none shold erect either Church or Chappell without the permission of the Senat; He adjoyn'd further, that the Republic retain'd in her hands five hundred thousand Crowns of Ecclesiasticall Legacies; charging, that in all these particulars she shold give him satisfaction; answer was made, 'That God had not given to Popes any greater Authority in the Government of their Estates, then to other Princes, who by the Law of Nature have all power which is necessary, and as it appertain'd not to the Venetians to govern the State of the Church, no more doth it belong to Ecclesiastics to govern the State of *Venice*; and wheras it was alledg'd, that the Republic had reserv'd such a portion of Legacies Ecclesiasticall, it was a meer suggestion, and if his Holines wold give credit to ev'ry such calumny, differences wold grow infinit.

Here the Pope stay'd, saying, that touching the Legacies he wold say no more; but he wold reduce all the differences to three heads, viz. 1. To the Decree touching building of Churches. 2. To another Decree against the aliening of Laymens possessions to Ecclesiastics. 3. To the wrong imprisonment of the Canon and the Abbot aforesay'd. In all these he expected to be obey'd, otherwise he wold apply such remedies as the nature of things requir'd.

About this time *Genoa* publish'd a *Manifesto*, by revoking a Decree which the Pope had excepted against; he made use herof for an example, to make the Venetians conformable to his will, using these words, *Sequiturini penitentes*, follow the penitent; answer was made, 'That ther was not the same reason for the Republic of *Venice*, seeing she had not seven Cardinalls her Citizens, as *Genoa* had, to mediat for her upon all occasions with his Holines; That the Decrees of the Senat were the main Pillars of the Republic; That they were well known to his Predecessors, who, before their Election to the Papacy had lived at *Venice* in quality either of Confessors, Inquisitors or Nuntio's, and that after their promotion they never question'd them.

This gave no satisfaction at all to the Pope, therefore he say'd he wold send a Breve hortatory to the Republic, concerning the three points before mention'd, and if he were not obey'd by such a time, he wold proceed further; for he must not suffer the Authority of the Church to decline, but according to his Office, he wold vindicat and uphold it to his utmost, and to which end he had Legions of Angells for his aid, and assistance, &c.

Herupon he seal'd and sent two Breves a little after to his Nuntio in *Venice*, with charge to present them accordingly; they were address'd *Marino Grimani Duci, & Reipublice Venetorum*. After this he call'd a Consistory

Consistory, wherein he declar'd how the State of *Venice* had violated the Ecclesiasticall Liberty, by publishing two Laws prejudiciall therunto, and by detaining in prison two persons of the Church, &c. The Cardinalls were very sparing to deliver their Opinions herin, and when it came to *Bellarmin* to speak, he sayed, *That his Holines shold rather think on the residence of Prelats in their Churches.*

The Venetian Senat thought good to send an Ambassador expressly for this purpose, and to shew their high respects to the Apostolic See, they made choice of the Lord *Leonardo Donato* an ancient Senator of the wide Sleeve, who was afterwards Duke.

The *Nuntio* in Venice having receav'd the *Breves* but the next day after, the Embassador extraordinary stayed the presentation therof, and sent advice by an expresse of the choice of the sayed Ambassador, the Pope was not well pleas'd when he heard of this, that the *Nuntio* shold presume to interpose his own judgment after his Ordinance, therefore he dispatch'd unto *Venice* an expresse Courier with a *mandamus* to the *Nuntio*, to present the sayed *Breves* immediatly after the receipt of his Letter, & that this might be conceal'd from the ordinary Ambassador of *Venice*, then resident at *Rome*, he caus'd the Courier to go out in a Coach without boots, and so take horse at the second Stage. The *Nuntio* having receav'd this command on Christmas Eve, that he might punctually obey his Holines, did present that solemn high Festivall day the sayed *Breves* unto the Senators assembled to assist at a solemn Masse, in the absence of the Duke *Grimani*, who was then struggling with the pangs of death, and expir'd the morning after, so that the *Breves* were not open'd till the creation of a new Duke.

The Pope having advice herof, writ to his *Nuntio* to make a protest unto the Senat, and enjoin them not to passe to a new Election, in regard it wold prove void, being made by men excommunicated, the *Nuntio* pressing for Audience herupon, was delayed, in regard it hath ever bin the custom of the Signory to treat of no businesse of State during the Vacancy.

Duke *Grimani* being buried, they fell to ballotation for another, nor according to the Constitutions of the Republic, can they fall to the Election of another, till the former Duke be under ground, so it fell to the lot of *LEONARDO DONATO* to be chosen: all Ambassadors went to congratulat the new Prince except the *Nuntio*, yet did the Prince write unto the Pope as the custom is, to give him advice of his Election.

Pope *Paul* herupon, though it was beyond the expectation of divers, did receive this Letter from the new Doge by the hands of the ordinary Venetian Ambassador then sojourning at *Rome*, and return'd a congratulatory Answer therof, revoking the Order formerly sent to the *Nuntio* of presenting himself to the Duke.

The first affair that was agitated in the Senat after this new Election was this difference with the Pope, and *Pietro Duodo* Knight, was nominated Ambassador for *Rome* instead of *Donato*, The *Breves* were open'd, and they were both of the same substance, viz. That it was com to his knowing, how the Republic in former years had determin'd

in her Councells many things contrary to Ecclesiastic Liberty, and to the Canons, Councells, and Constitutions Pontificall; but among others, that in the year 1603. she had in the *Decemvirat*, having regard to certain Laws of their Ancestors, who had forbidden to erect Churches or other places without permission, instead of nulling the old Ordinances touching this matter, she had reviv'd the same, extending that Statute which only concern'd the City of *Venice*, to all other places of their Dominions under great penalties, as if Churches and persons Ecclesiasticall were in any sort subject to the secular Jurisdiction, or he who foundeth a Church were worthy of so rude a chastisement, as if he had committed som great Crime; moreover, that in the moneth of *May* last, the Senat having regard to another Law made in the year 1536. whereby was prohibited the perpetuall alienation of Lay-mens possessions within the City and Signory of *Venice* to Ecclesiasticall persons, without permission of the Senat under certain penalties, instead of revoking that Law, as their duty requir'd, they had renew'd it, and extended the penalty to all their Dominions, as if it were lawfull for temporal Princes to ordain any thing for the exercising of any Jurisdiction, or to dispose in any sort without the Ecclesiastics, and particularly of the Pope, of the goods of the Church, specially of such goods as have bin given to the Church, of persons spiritual, and other places of devotion granted by the faithfull for remedy of their sins, and discharge of their consciences: That these Ordinances tending to the damnation of souls, to public scandalls, and also contrary to the Ecclesiasticall Liberty, were of themselves void and of no validity, as furthermore he declar'd them to be such, no man being oblig'd to observe them; on the contrary, that they who had made the Statutes, or any like, or they who had further'd them, had incurr'd the Churches Censures, and depriv'd themselves of all such possessions as they held of the Church, as also their estates and demains were subject to other penalties, in such sort, that they could not be absolv'd, unless they revok'd all such Laws, and re-establish'd all things in their former estate: That therupon being plac'd in the Sovereign Throne, and not being able to dissemble or indure these things, he admonish'd the Republic to consider well the danger wherinto they had cast their souls upon this occasion, and to seek remedy betimes, otherwise in case of contumacy he commanded under pain of Excommunication *lata sententia*, that the aforesayed Lawes ancient and modern shold be abrogated; That this Monitory shold be publish'd in all places throughout the Republic, expecting from them an account herof, if not, upon notice had from his *Nuntio*, he wold proceed to execution of the Penalties, and to such other remedies that were meet, remembering the reckoning that he was to give to God at the day of Judgment, and that he could not in duty dissemble when the Authority of the See Apostolic was diminish'd, Ecclesiasticall Liberty trod under foot, the Holy Canons neglected, the right of the Church and Clergy violated; Of all which the charge lay upon him, affirming that he was not induc'd hereunto for any worldly consideration, for he desir'd nothing els but the glory

glory to acquit himself of his Apostolicall function, and as he intended not to usurp any thing upon the secular Authority, so he wold not permit the Ecclesiastic shold be diminish'd; he concluded, that if the Republic wold conform, they wold deliver him from much pain which he endur'd in their behalf, and they might still retain the Lands which they held of the Church: That the best means wherby she might prevent the incommodities that might fall upon her from Infidells, were to conserve the Church-men in their rights, who watch in perpetuall prayers to God for her conservation.

The Senat with much maturity ponder'd these *Breves*, and therupon sent to confer with their learnedst Counsellors in the Civill Lawes, amongst whom they admitted *Paul* of *Venice*, of the Order of the *Servites*, an eminent Divine and Canonist, with other *Padouan* Doctors, to consult what answer they shold return the Pope. The Republic also sent to consult other Doctors, themost renowned of *Europe* for sound knowledge, as *Henry* the VIII. of *England*, had don touching the legality of a divorce with *Katherine* of *Aragon*. Having receav'd the judgments of the learnedst men in *France* and *Spain*, specially of *Giacomo Monochio* President of *Milan*, a man much cried up in those daies for learning, the Senat fram'd the Answer to the Popes Monitory, as followeth.

That with much grief and wonder they understood by the Letters of his Holines, that their Laws observ'd carefully through so many Ages, and never question'd by any of his Predecessors, the revokement wherof wold shake the very Foundations of the Republic, were reprehended as contrary to the See Apostolic, and that they which made them (having bin persons eminent for merit, and well deserving of that See, who are now in heaven) were noted for Violaters of Ecclesiastic Liberty; that according to the admonition of his Holines, they had examined with much exactnesse their Laws Old and New, but had not found any thing which a Sovereign Prince might not have well ordain'd without any just offence to the Popes Authority, it being a thing evidently belonging to a secular Prince, to have regard what Companies are erected in his Dominions, as also to prevent the building of such Edifices as in time to com might be hurtfull to the public safety; and though their State abounds with Churches, and places of piety as much as any other, yet when they saw it convenient, they never refus'd to permit new Foundations themselves contributing liberally therunto. That in the Law against perpetuall alienation of lay goods unto Ecclesiastics, the question being of things purely temporall, they could not be tax'd to have don any thing contrary to the Canons or Decrees; That if the Popes have power to forbid the Clergy to alienat any goods of the Church unto persons secular without leave, Princes may do the same, and take Order that the goods of seculars shall not be alienated to the Clergy without permission; nor do the Ecclesiastics lose any thing bequeath'd unto them herby, seeing they receive a price answerable in value, to the immoveable adjoining; that it tends to the great prejudice, not only of the temporall State, but also

of the spirituall to weaken the Forces of the Republic, which by such alienations is depriv'd of necessary services, and which in effect is a vanguard or fortresse for all Christendom against Infidels: That for these reasons the Senat could not perswade themselves to have incurr'd any Censures, since secular Princes have by Divine Law, from which no human Law may derogate, a power to establish Laws in things temporall; as also that the admonitions of his Holines have here no place, where the question is not of any thing spirituall, or any way trenching upon the Papall Authority, much lesse yet could they beleieve, that his Holines, so full of Piety and Religion, would persist without knowledge of the cause in his Comminations.

This was the substance of the Senat's Answer, remitting themselves further to their Ambassador extraordinary.

There happen'd a business in *Savoy* about this time, which might have scarr'd the Venetian, being much of the same nature; for Pope *Paul* having notice that the Duke of *Savoy* had commanded the Bishop of *Fossano* to depart out of his Dominions, the Pope being incens'd thereat, did so menace the Duke with Excommunication, that he revok'd his Commandement.

The Senat's Letter being deliver'd to the Pope by *Nani* the Venetian Ambassador in ordinary, to prepare the way for *Duodo* the Extraordinary; he sayed, being a little transported, that *Monitory Breve's* must not be answer'd by Letter, and that the Answers of the Senat were frivolous; He added that lately he had heard of another Law touching goods Ecclesiastic holden as *Emphyteutike*, which was fit to be revok'd with the other, and although he had not till then made any mention of it, yet he had more to say against it than any other, therefore it behov'd them to obey him, because the cause was Gods, *Et porta Inferi non prevalebunt contra eam*; and if they would not revoke the sayed Lawes, they were Tyrants, and degenerating from their Ancestors, &c.

A little after he sent another *Breve* to be deliver'd the Duke, for the release of the Canon and the Abbot under pain of Excommunication, *lata sententia*, which he commanded should be deliver'd into the hands of his *Nuntio*, &c.

The Senat consulted the Doctors again about this *Breve*, whereupon after some Eventilations of the matters, this Answer was sent:

That the *Breve* of his Holines was read with much reverence, and no lesse regret, as perceiving thereby that matters tended to encrease discord, that his Holines went about to destroy the Laws of their Republic, which so many Ages had bin kept entire; to deliver up the Canon and Abbot, was nothing els but to demand that they should despoile themselves of their just power to chastise crimes and wickednes, which power they had enjoy'd with the approbation of his Predecessors, from the Originall of the Republic: that God the Founder of all States had bestow'd this power upon them from the beginning, and that they did derive it from their Progenitors, &c.

Duodo the Extraordinary Ambassador made no great hast to *Rome*, wheræ

wherat the Pope receav'd offence, being arriv'd ther at last, he was not suffer'd to passe his first Audience with complement as the custome is, but the Pope wish'd him to fall to the businesse presently; so he deliver'd with much gravity and pressing elocution the reasons that mov'd the Republic not to revoke those Laws, and to detain the persons of the sayed Churehmen.

The Pope answer'd with som heat, that the exemption of the Clergy was *Jure Divino*; he sayed, that he wold not meddle with things temporall, but their three aforesayd Laws were Usurpations.

As the Pope had formerly acquainted most Princes with these traverses 'twixt him and *Venice* in a complaining way, so the Senat sent unto the Republics Ambassadors abroad, that they shold truly inform those Princes in whose Courts they resided, of the truth of things; In *Venice* ther were at that time Ambassadors from the Emperour, *France* and *Spain*, to whom the businesse was communicated by some of the Senators; The Imperiall Ambassador sayed, *That his Master desired peace, and that in such matters he wold not foment the will of the Pope.* The Count of *Santa Cruz* who was for *Spain*, approv'd of the reasons already alledg'd in *Rome* for the Republic; *Mons du Fresne* the French Ambassador answer'd, *That he knew not what to make of those pontificall Laws, whereby Princes are restrain'd to govern their Subjects, &c.*

Pope Paul was still eager in the businesse, telling the Venetian Ambassador that ther were none in the Senat that understood rightly the case, which made them have recourse to Doctors, but that he had writen to such persons as were able to set their Doctors at School, concluding that he wold proceed with his spirituall Arms in this matter, but touching other things, he wold still account of the Venetians, as of his children.

Herupon a Consistory was call'd, and most of the Cardinalls ran bias with the Pope, except the Cardinalls of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, who were more moderat; examples against *Hen. II. King of England*, the King of *Castile*, and against the Kings *Charles. II. IV.* were produc'd, who underwent the spirituall Centures in like cases; so he resolv'd upon an Interdiction, yet he wold give the Senat twenty four daies of longer time to consider herof, wherunto the Cardinalls gave their suffrages, but a Libell was cast up and down the streets of *Venice*, that the Consistory herin was brought to *assentari*, not *assentiri*.

A little while after the *Interdict* was affix'd in the accustomed places of the City of *Rome*, and scatter'd ev'ry wher, som in *Latin*, som in *Italian*, wherein after recapitulation of those Decrees in *Venice*, and the imprisonment of the foresayd Church-men, 'The Pope declar'd that after the example of ten of his Predecessors, with the Councell and consent of the Cardinalls, after mature deliberation, though the former sayed Decrees of the Senat were of themselves void, and of no validity, neverthelesse he now declar'd them to be such; therefore he did excommunicat, declare and pronounce for excommunicated, as if they had bin particularly nam'd, the Duke and Senat of *Venice* which then were, and which shold be hereafter together with all their favourers, promoters

‘promoters and Councillors, if within the term of twenty four daies to be counted from the day of the Publication, the Duke and Senat did not recall, abrogat and disanull the Decrees aforesayed without any exception or excuse, and if they caus’d not openly and in all places the sayed abrogation to be publish’d, as also actually to render into the hands of his *Nuntio* the imprison’d Canon and Abbot.

‘That from this Excommunication they could not be absolv’d but by the Pope, except it were upon the point of death, in which case if any one receav’d absolution and shold afterwards recover health, he shold fall again within this Excommunication, if he did not as far as in him lay obey this his commandment; that untill they had obey’d, he forbade any one to be buried in holy place; and if after the sayed twenty four daies, the Duke and Senat shold continue in their obstinacy, he put all their State under the *Interdict*, in such sort, that none shold celebrat *Masse* or Divine Service; he depriv’d the Duke and Senat likewise of all their goods which they held of the Church of *Rome*, or of other Churches, as also of all their Priviledges and indults obtain’d by it, and specially of that Priviledge inabling them to proceed against Clerks in certain cases, reserving to himself and his Successors a power to aggravat and re-aggravat this Censure against them and their adherents, &c.

The public Ministers of State who were then resident at *Rome*, made instances to the Pope to retard a while this *Interdict*: the Marquis of *Chastillon* who was for the Emperor, *D’Alincourt* who was for the French King, The Count of *Verrue* who was for *Savoy*, but his Holiness was inflexible, saying, *he wold bring the offenders to obey*; wherupon the *Savoy* Ambassador replied, that the word *obey* was too harsh to be us’d towards a Sovereign Prince; yet after the publication of the sayed *Interdict*, the sayed Ambassadors gave a solemn visit to the Venetian Ambassadors, and communicated unto them what they had don with the Pope in the transaction of affairs.

The publication of this *Interdict* being shewn to *Venice*, it was order’d by the Senat, that ev’ry one shold have recours to his prayers; it was resolv’d upon to recall the Ambassador Extraordinary from *Rome*, to testifie the resentment they had of the wrong, but to leave the Leger Ambassador ther still, to prevent an absolut rupture; It was also determin’d to write to *Gregorio Fustinianno* then Ambassador in England, that he shold inform the King herof: Sir *Henry Wootton* Ambassador at that time in *Venice*, complain’d that the Senat had communicated these things to other Forren Ministers before him, but for the pretensions of the Pope, he sayed, *he could not understand that Roman Theology, &c.*

Ther was public command given to all Prelats and Ecclesiasticall persons, that they shold not publish, or cause and suffer to be publish’d or affix’d in any place whatsoever, any *Bulls*, *Monitories*, *Breves*, or other writings which shold be sent unto them from *Rome*: furthermore Proclamation was made under pain of incurring the displeasure of the Prince, that whosoever had any copy of a certain *Breve* divulg’d at *Rome* touching the Republic, he shold bring it to the Magistrats at *Venice*,
or

or to Governors of Castles and other Officers of the State.

Hereupon all people did so cheerfully obey this command, that 'twas a marvailous thing to see how many had bin imprinted and scatter'd; neither was any one of them affix'd in any place, by reason of the generall diligence of the peeple.

Duodo the Ambassador Extraordinary at *Rome*, having receav'd order for his revocation, went to take his leave of *Pope Paul*, telling him, that since his Holines wold not take into consideration the reasons by him represented, and having no more to say or act, he was recall'd: the Pope answer'd with more mildnesse than ordinary, 'That touching the difference, he had don nothing but what his conscience and duty oblig'd him to do, that the case was cleer and decided, that in the whole order of his proceedings he had follow'd the example of his Predecessors, that his weapons in this quarrell were spirituall, the use wherof accorded well with that fatherly love which he had ever born to the Signory, requiring only such obedience as the greatest Princes render him.

The Popes *Nuntio* at Venice after th s Interdict was observ'd to frequent the Colledg of the *Jesuits* wher were *Possevino*, and *Bernardin Castorio* men eminently known, the first had don great things in *Moscowia*, the other had bin provinciall of the *Jesuits* when they were expell'd out of *Lions*, with divers others of note. The sayed *Nuntio* came som daies after to the Senat, wher first shewing a resentment of what had pass'd, he sayed that they ought not to proceed towards his Holines with such a repugnance, that the Pope was mov'd by pure zeal, and that yet, if they yelded a little, all things might be accommoded; to which effect he desir'd that his *Serenity* wold think upon a temperament, that for his part he was not most ready to present and favour it.

The Duke answer'd that none of sound understanding could approve that a Republic so pious and Catholic shold be vex'd in such a fashion, and that the actions of the Pope could not be justified; that he had publish'd a Monitory which ev'ry one held unjust without scruple, that he fell upon so weighty a resolution, without weighing before hand how the world is govern'd; that his Holines could not have don an act more perillous to cast the Apostolic See upon the censure and hatred of all peeple, and into a manifest danger, that if the Republic shold think upon a separation, it wold be follow'd with an irreparable losse; but though the Republic wold not depart from her piety, yet wold she defend her self, that for his particular (meaning the *Nuntio*) he did well to perswade peace, but he shold turn his speech to the Pope who troubled it. Eight daies after the *Nuntio* had Audience again, wherin speaking much of the Popes prudence, he shew'd a displeasure, that he saw no appearance of a temperament, concluding, *That the Senat shold take heed, lest while they desir'd to support a particular Law, they might draw on themselves universall ruine*, wherunto the Duke answer'd, *That he ought not to speak of prudence in the Pope, who had us'd so much precipitation, and that he shold do well to set before his eyes the imminent danger which may follow herupon, and tell him that these Councells came from a man old in affairs of State, as well as years.*

The Pope hearing of the Proclamation against his Monitory, & how the pulse of the Venetians did beat, who shew'd themselves so obedient to the Senat, and so forward to uphold their liberty, he thought his *Nuncio* could not stay in *Venice* any longer with his honor; therefore he sent him Letters of revocation, and dismiss'd from Rome *Nani* the Republics Ambassador, charging him expressly not to leave behind him any of his company: yet he desir'd to see him before he went provided, if he came unto him in quality of a privat man; *Nani* made answer, that he could not tell how to separat from his person the title of Ambassador, so he left Rome, being well accompanied out of Town with Roman Barons and gentlemen, but with few Prelats; The next morning, the Pope sent after him a Colonell to accompany him throughout the State of the Church, who o'retook him at *Gorligno*.

In *Venice* the Duke had caus'd a Manifesto to be publish'd and affix'd at ev'ry door, That whereas he had receav'd advice of a publication made at Rome of a certain Breve fulminated against the Senat and Signory, he being oblig'd to have a care of the public tranquillity, and of the Authority of a Sovereign Prince, did protest before God and all the world, that he had not omitted any means possible to make the Pope capable of the most clear and strong reasons that were produc'd in behalf of the Republic, but having found his ears shut, and seen the Breve publish'd against reason and justice, against the Doctrines of Holy Scriptures, of the Fathers, and Canons in prejudice of the secular Authority given by God, and of the liberty of the State, with the trouble of the repose of his Subjects, and to the great scandall of all the world, he did pronounce that Breve not only unjust, but meerly void and null, and so unlawful, that he need not repute it needfull to have recours to such remedies, as in other occasions the Republic, and many Sovereign Princes have us'd against such Popes as out-pass'd their power, exhorting and injoyning that the Prelats continu in their accustomed course in celebration of Divine Service, the Republic being resolv'd to persevere in the Holy Catholic Faith, and in the reverence of the Roman Church, as they have done from the beginning.

Upon this Interdict, the only Ecclesiastics that went out of the Republic, were the *Jesuits* and *Capuchines*, wherof the first was banish'd, the other dismiss'd, the rest did still officiat, alledging, that the difference 'twixt the See of Rome, and the Signory was not touching any point of the Catholic Faith.

But at Rome her self it was expected that the sayed Interdict wold produce three effects: 1. That the Religious wold all depart: 2. That the Cities and people seeing themselves depriv'd of Church Offices wold raise a sedition, and so force the Senat to give the Pope satisfaction: 3. That the Nobility upon this occasion might be disordered, terrified, and divided among themselves, but none of all these three effects hapned; for the Senat was greatly united in their resolutions, the City of *Venice* and common people kept themselves in wonderfull obedience: and this so generall a calm did not only proceed from the voluntary conformableness of the people, but also from the providence of the Senat, and diligence of the Magistrat, who provided for all accidents; Besides, this great affair was conducted

conducted with so much prudence and dexterity, that no blood of any man was shed for contempt or mutiny, which made the world to stand at a gaze, that so great a Body and Government should be kept upright without any violence, execution, or the least shock given; notwithstanding there were many under practises us'd afterwards.

The Jesuits in ev'ry place where they had taken footing, did put all irons in the fire, and fell a beating them to brand the Republic of *Venice*, insomuch that her Ambassadors receiv'd affronts in some places, as in *Poland* and *Prague*, but it was by private persons, for which they had satisfaction from the Emperour, and the King of *Poland*; for the Signory was not so carelesse, but she sent a punctuall account of all these traverses 'twixt the Pope and Her; *Genoa* and *Savoy* was also displeas'd with Her, because both they had bin succumbent to the Popes Censures before, and submitted.

Among other Princes, *Justiniano* the Venetian Ambassador residing then in *London*, had command to acquaint the King of *England* with his *Contrasto* 'twixt the Pope and the Senat. King *James* after he had very attentively heard the relation of the Ambassador, shew'd how well he accepted that esteem, and highly commended the Laws of the Republic, adding, that he long'd to see the whole Church of God reform'd, to which end, he much desir'd a free Councell to determine so many controversies, which have no other cause but the usurpations of the Roman Bishops, in which desire, he thought the King of *France* and other Princes would joyn with him; that perhaps God meant to produce this happiness out of these troubles of the Signory; that he had sent word thereof to Pope *Clement*, then when he was mov'd by him, the first time he came to the Crown of *England*, to unite himself to the Roman Church, but he would not hear any thing of a Councell; that this union was much to be desired, but clearly there was no other means to effect it then by a Generall Councell; he added moreover, that that ruine of the Church proceeded from this, that the Popes esteem'd themselves as Gods, and were so corrupted by flattery, that 'twas no marvel they could give no ear to any reason, and if they proceeded oftentimes with such precipitation.

The separated States of *Holland* writ letters full of affection unto the Republic upon this occasion, offering Her a supply of Arms, Ships, and Victualls, if the case requir'd, with any other goodoffice of friendship.

All Christian Princes were sensible of this rupture 'twixt the Pope and the Republic, specially the Roman Catholics, in whose Courts the Venetian Ambassadors did refrain for a while, to go with the rest into their Chappells after the accustomed manner.

The Duke of *Savoy* did appear more against the Republic then any other, not treating her Ambassador as formerly, though he took hold of another occasion, because She had written to his children by the title of *Excellency* not of *Highnesse*.

The Republic apprehending some fears, that such a confederacy might be procur'd against Her by Pope *Paul* the eight, as was by *Julius* the

second, who carried fire in his hands; She was very willing that matters might be reconcil'd by the mediation of other Princes, wherein *Monf. du Fresne* stir'd more vigorously then any other, by order from *Henry* the IV. of *France* his Master: the Duke of *Mantoua* also offer'd to com to *Venice* in disguise, to know their intentions, and then passe to *Rome*, of purpose to treat with the Pope for an attonement.

The Senat took this as a very high respect, and sayed, that the Republic who us'd to be accounted the Right Hand of *Rome*, wold do nothing unworthy of her self; and it was just, that he who had first offended shold repair the offence; therfore it was fitting that the Pope shold revoke his Censures, and so open the way to a Treaty; for no wound can heal, till the inflammation be taken away.

While this difference lasted 'twixt *Rome* and *Venice*, a certain writing was affix'd at *Vicenza*, and other places, wherein the Republic was exhorted to shake off the Popes Yoke, calling him *Antichrist*, &c. The Senat was much mov'd herat, therfore they caus'd a rigorous Ban to be publish'd, wherein they promis'd a large reward to him or them that shold discover the Author of that infamous paper, giving charge that a diligent search shold be made after the Authors; but none being found, 'twas thought to be an artifice of the Jesuits, to induce the Venetian therby, to com the sooner to an accord with the Pope.

The King of *Spain* in these doubtfull traverses of things, writ a Letter full of terms of reverence and complement unto the Pope, that if need were, he wold joyn his temporall Arms to maintain the spirituall Arms of the Church; to which purpose, he had written both to his Viceroy of *Naples*, and Governor of *Milan*: upon the receipt of this Letter, ther were Bonfires made at *Rome*, and the flames of the fire flew upon the wings of fame all Christendome over, which gave the Republic such an alarm, that She began by Land and Sea to arm apace; She was offer'd assistance if need were from som of the Greek Christians, that were subjects to the Turk, as also from the reformed Churches of *France*, but she wav'd both; but it was thought that this Letter of the Spanish King, wherein he promis'd warlike succours to the Pope, was not a thing really meant, but only to terrifie the Republic, and bring her the sooner to an agreement; which appear'd, in regard he had sent expresse commands to *Don Innigo de Cardenas* his Ambassador, residing in *Venice*, to propound som Overtures of Treaty: wherupon he propos'd to the Duke and the Senat, That his Catholic Majesty affecting the conservation of peace, desir'd that the disgusts 'twixt his Holines and the Republic might cease, to which end he had commanded all his Ministers to co-operat accordingly, and particularly had commanded him to pray the Senat accordingly, &c.

The Duke much extolling the good inclinations of the Catholic King, answer'd, That the Republic could not do more then what they had done already, that it was more proper to begin with him who had bin the cause of all these broils, that it was not for them to open the way which had bin stopp'd up by others; that the Pope by dismissing their Ambassador, and revoking his Nuncio, had broken off all means of Treaty, which could not be set
on

on foot, unless the Censures were taken off, with which the Republic thought her self much injur'd.

The Ambassador replied, asking the Duke, Whether his Serenity were content that he should pray his Holines in the name of the Catholic King to take off his Excommunication.

The Duke rejoyn'd, that it was necessary to remove the impediment, but that this should be don by this means or that, by the free-will of the Pope, or at the instance of another, it little importted for the substance of the thing, and that his Majesty might do what pleas'd him.

The Ambassador answer'd, Your Serenity may well be content that the Pope be entreated by your Name; the Duke sayed, That for the repose of Italy, if the Catholic King were certain that the Pope being thus mov'd wold do the thing, he wold not hold it any inconvenience to be so contented; He sayed further, that neither himself nor the Senat had given any occasion of disgust to the Pope, if he had taken any of himself they could not help it, that in voluntary discontents ther is no other remedy then a voluntary acknowledgement, besides he desir'd him to consider, that the King his Masters Interest, and of all temporall Princes besides, was involv'd in the cause of the Republic.

The French Ambassador *du Fresne* being then also in the Senat, sayed, That the Pope could not be induc'd to revoke the Censures, unless ther were som assurance given what the Republic wold do in point of correspondence, that it was needfull for her in some sort to submit, for no temporall Prince could be disparag'd to yeeld unto his Holines, it being a *jus commune* to humble ones self to the Sovereign Bishop.

The Duke answer'd, That it was necessary to apply the remedy to the part whence the evill proceeded, therfore since his Christian Majesty desir'd a pacification, it was meet that he should make his addresse to the Pope, &c.

While these Traverses happen'd at Venice, the Pope by the predominant advice of som Cardinalls, and relying much upon the foresayd Letter which the King of Spain had written unto him, made a shew of arming, wherunto the *Conte de Fuentes* Governor of Milan was very forward, therfore it did not stand with the prudence of the Republic to be idle. Herupon She sent to Her Ambassadors abroad to acquaint the Princes, wherwith they resided, to inform them accordingly; She imparted the businesse likewise to those Ambassadors that lay at Venice, and among the rest to the English, who having thank'd the Senat for this communication of affairs, He prayed their generosity and resolution to defend their honor, assuring them, that upon so important occasion, they should have from his King all furtherance and aid, as well in good offices, as in arms and succours; he sayed further, That he had particular commandement from the King his Master, to oblige him under the word of a King to a neer Union with the Signory, to assist Her with councell and forces, as also to labour that all his friends should do the same, not for any base ends or privat interest, or to foment division,

‘or com into concurrence and opposition with any [other Prince, but
 ‘specially for two reasons. First, for that acknowledging himself ob-
 ‘lig’d to God for infinit favours receav’d from him, he thought it his
 ‘duty to defend his cause, that is, to conserve the power which his Di-
 ‘vine Majesty had establish’d upon earth: Secondly, in regard of that
 ‘Bond of Amity which he renew’d with the Republic, &c.

The main knot in the businesse was, whether upon a promise of the re-
 vocation of the Ecclesiasticall Censures by the Pope, the Signory wold
 also promise an abrogation of the foresayd Decrees touching Church-
 Lands, which She could not be induc’d to do, but something shold be
 don if a Treaty were comenc’d, wherof the Senat was thought incapa-
 ble while they lay under the sayd Censures.

The French Ambassador a few daies after came to the Senat, where
 he made a long discours for an accord, ‘But he was advertis’d from
 ‘*Rome*, that the Pope had receav’d som new offences from the Signory,
 ‘for hindring Navigation into the places of the Church, and for the e-
 ‘ternall Ban against the Jesuits.

Wherunto the Senat made answer, that touching that point of Navi-
 gation it appertain’d to ev’ry good Government to provide that the
 State may be well furnish’d with things necessary for her self, and pro-
 vide that they be not carried away to others, that in order to this, the
 Republic had stayd all Vessells at Sea, wherein ther were provisions ne-
 cessary for the State, wherupon if the State Ecclesiastic was in want, this
 was not their fault, but the order of human things so requir’d: Concer-
 ning the Jesuits, it was alledg’d, that they were not banish’d, but rather
 were gone away of themselves, as refusing to obey the Commandements
 sent unto them to continue Divine Service, but after their departure, ha-
 ving notice of an infinit number of injuries, machinations and treasons
 contriv’d by them, the Senat ordain’d, as Justice requir’d, that they ne-
 ver more return.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Spaniards were like to have
 imbroil’d the Signory in a war with the Turk, in regard the Marquis of
Santa Cruz with a Fleet of Napolitan and Sicilian Gallies had sack’d
 and burnt *Durazzo*, a Town of the Turks in *Albany*, som thought this
 was done of purpose to make the Turk fall upon the Venetian, and so
 jimpell him to make his addresse to the Spaniard for aid, therefore at
Constantinople the Gran Visier perceaving well the Artifice of *Spain* here-
 in, and that the taking of *Durazzo* had bin attempted to no other end,
 then to set them at odds with the Signory, Letters were sent to the Cap-
 tain *Aga* the Admirall, that he shold still keep good union and intelli-
 gence with the Venetian Forces, to the damage of the Pope and the
 Spaniard.

This year ther were divers Libells, Pasquills flew up and down in
 ev’ry corner of *Italy*, some in favour of *Rome*, som of *Venice*: ther were
 also many Books and Tractats came forth on both sides. The Doctrine
 of the Venetian Writers was, That God had establish’d two Govern-
 ments upon Earth, the one Spirituall, the other Temporall, each of them
 being Supreme, and independent one from the other: the one is the
 Church

Church Regiment, the other the Civill; Of the first he gave charge to his Apostles and their Successors; Of the temporall, the charge is put in the hands of secular Princes, in such sort, that one may not intermeddle with that which appertains to either: Therefore the Pope hath no power to abrogate the Laws of Princes in civill matters, nor to deprive them of their estates, or free their Subjects from their allegiance which they owe unto them; That to depose Kings, is a new thing never attempted but within these five hundred years, it is against the Holy Scriptures, the examples of Christ and his Saints: That to teach, that in case of conscience 'twixt the Pope and a Prince, 'tis lawfull to pursue him with fraud and force, and that the Subjects thereby do obtain remission of sins, is a Doctrine seditious and sacrilegious; That Churchmen by Divine Law are not exempted from their secular power, neither in their persons or goods, whensoever his necessities constrain him to serve himself of them; that the Pope ought not to think himself infallible, unlesse wher God hath promis'd him his Divine assistance, which must be understood only in the fundamentall points of Faith; that the Authority of binding and loosing ought to be understood with this caution, *Clave non errante*, seeing that God hath commanded the Pastor to follow the merit and justice of the cause, and not his own inclination; that when the Pope thunders out any Censures, it is for the Doctors to consider whether they have proceeded *Clave errante aut non errante*.

That the new name of blind obedience, invented by *Ignatius Loyola*, is a Pseudodoxall tenet, &c.

On the contrary, the Doctrine of the Roman Writers or Papalines; as they term'd them, was, that the civill power of Princes is subordinat to the power Ecclesiastic, and subject unto it; therefore the Pope hath authority to deprive Princes of their estates and honors, for their faults and errors which they commit in Government; yea though they have committed no fault, when the Pope shall judge it fit for the common good of the Church; That the Pope may free Subjects from obedience, and from their Oath of Fidelity which they owe the temporall Prince, in which case they are to shake off all subjection, and even to pursue the Prince if the Pope command it, som of the modefter sort held that this Authority did not reside in the Pope, because Christ gave him any temporall Authority, but because this was necessary for the spirituall Monarchy.

Divers Treatises were imprinted and publish'd *pro & con* 'twixt the Pope and the Republic to this effect, and *Bellarmin* was very busie in upholding *S. Peters* Chair, at last ther was a strict inhibition ther shold be no more writing on this point, so the Treaty began to advance, wherin the French Ambassador was very active, therefore he propos'd two things to the Senat.

The first was, That the Duke and Senat wold suspend the execution of the Laws, and the *Protestation* publish'd against the Monitory of the Pope, upon condition that his Holines wold do the like to his Censures for five moneths, during which time they might treat of the merit of the Laws that were question'd. The

The second was, That the Ecclesiastic Prisoners might be rendred without prejudice to the cause of the Republic; That the Religious gon out of *Venice* by reason of the Interdict might return; he concluded that it was not the intention of his Christian Majesty that any thing shold be don against the Dignity and Justice of the Signory, and if either of these proposalls were to Her prejudice, he was content to let them passe in silence: He desir'd them further to consider, that it was necessary to give som apparent occasion to his Holines to induce him to a retractation, because it was never heard that a Pope had revok'd his Bulls, excepting at the Councell of *Constance*.

The Senat did fall to deliberat of things with more maturity then was usual; at last they resolv'd with one joynt consent to prefer the conservation of their Liberty before all other respects, together with the Authority of their Laws: But for yeelding up the prisoners in gratification to his Christian Majesty, they thought this did not trench much upon their Liberty, in regard it was a particular fact which drew not with it any consequence, that the like ought not to be don in time to come; therefore the Senat answer'd the Ambassador, thanking his Majesty for his mediation, & adjoyn'd, it was easie to perceave, wherat the designs of the Pope aim'd, who seeing that the Justice of the Republic, for the merit & ground of the cause was known and confes'd by all, wold therefore find out som error in the form of proceeding, wherein the Justice of the Republic was so clear that it was manifest to all, and the errors of the Pope so grosse, that they could not be excus'd: wherfore it was not consentaneous to reason, to correct the faults of another with their own detriment and dishonor, They added further, that these proceedings of the Popes were of such pernicious consequence, that they might have hurl'd the whole Signory into flames of civil combustions.

The Senat at last granted, that when the King shold be assured and have the firm word of the Pope that he wold totally take away the Censures, the two prisoners shold be render'd unto him, although they were guilty of foul Crimes; They wold also let fall their protestation, yet saving their public reasons, and their power to judge Ecclesiastics when it shold be expedient for the State; this was all the French Ambassador could wring from the Senat, wherof when the King was advertis'd, he writ a Letter, wherein he thank'd them for their fair respects, in which Letter he took occasion to renew the memory of the favour they did him to co opt him into the body of their Nobility.

After this *Don Innigo de Cardenas* the Spanish Ambassador, earnestly solicited the Senat for an accommodation, but he could hardly prevail as much as the other: In the *interim* ther was a new kind of Councell erected at *Rome*, call'd *la Congregation de Guerra*, the Congregation of War, which consisted of fifteen Cardinals, and this was don, to strike som apprehensions of fear into the Signory.

The Senat inform'd the French and Spanish Ambassadors of this strange news from *Rome*, touching a Councel of War; they also imparted to the English Ambassador, telling him, that he might now publish the Declaration of the King his Master, and think upon the succours he promis'd.

Cavalier

Cavalier Bolton (then Ambassador) testified very much contentment to do this office, affirming that it was to publish the glory of his King; He pass'd further, and sayed, that ther were but three ways to compound this difference, *either by yielding, or referring the matter to Princes, or by Warr*: he saw well the Signory had no mind to the first, and if they resolv'd to make a reference to any, they could not make choice of any fitter then his King, who marvailously well understood how much it imported him to maintain the Authority given by God to Princes; but if the matter shold come to Arms, he pray'd his *Serenity* to consider, that though Philosophie tells us the Sun warms these inferior bodies, without heat in it self, yet in human things it is not so, but he that wold heat in his favour, must first be hot himself.

The Senat determin'd to signifie unto all Princes the Declaration of 'the King of great *Britain*, wherein he call'd God to witnesse, 'That his 'resolution to defend the cause of the Republic, had no other end but the 'service of God, and to conserve the Liberty which God gave to all 'Princes, not for any ill will that he carried to the Pope, nor was he 'mov'd by the particular interest of the Republic, but only so far, because he knew She defended a cause most just and acceptable to God, 'which the more he considered in his mind, so much the more was he 'confirm'd in Her protection and defence, not finding any the least 'shadow of reason to relinquish Her; That he had already taken this 'resolution, and wold sustain it suddenly; That he wold not do as the 'Spaniard, who by a Letter had fill'd the Popes spirit with vanity to 'carry him into a precipice, but that he wold execut with courage and 'sincerity what he had promis'd: he consider'd also as a thing of great 'consequence, that the Pope prepar'd himself for warr, and had to this 'effect erected that new Congregation of men disaffected to the Signory, and all dependents of *Spain*: herunto he added, that he wold be 'as ready to perform his promise, as to publish his Declaration, and 'wold besides procure som good offices from his brother the King of 'Denmark, and other Princes of Germany his Allies.

The Kings of *France* and *England* appearing so earnestly in this businessse, the Emperour also did contribut his intercession; the Grand Duke of *Florence* likewise stir'd in it, yet nothing could be concluded to any purpose.

Therefore the Spaniard begins to arm in the Duchy of *Milan*, to which end the Count *de Fuentes* had particular Commission. The Republic having intelligence herof, it did not stand with Her wonted prudence and circumspection to stand idle; wherefore to meet with all occasions that might occur, She sent to *Padoua, Verona, Crema, Bergamo* and *Brescia* five hundred thousand Crowns, one hundred thousand for each City to prepare themselves for all exigents: Unto the old nine thousand six hundred Footmen, and six hundred Horse: To the one hundred & fifty Albanian Horse, She added six hundred Italian Foot, and one thousand Albanians more under *Paolo Ghini*. Order also was given to Count *Francis Martinengo* to levy in the Confines four thousand French soldiers, and six hundred Cuirasses which She caus'd to be arm'd: To

the three great Gallies was adjoyn'd one other, and to the thirty eight light Gallies they sent five more in the Iles of the Levant, and twelve more newly arm'd at *Venice*. In *Candy* also were arm'd twenty Gallies, & *Nicolas Sagredo* Proveditor general by his prudence & dexterity, which was singular in managing of Martial affairs, wrought in such sort, that all this was don at the expence of privat gentlemen, so that ther were in all seventy five light Gallies, & four great ones got together: Divers of the French Nobility made profer of their service to the Republic, and the great Turk seem'd to importune her to accept of his assistance: She utterly refus'd the last, and wav'd the first.

The rumor of these preparations fill'd ev'ry corner of Christendome, therfore the Kings and Princes who were already engag'd in quality of Mediators 'twixt the Pope and the Republic, stir'd more nimbly in the businesse, specially the *French*, who to accelerat things, and do them with greater countenance, employed to that end the Cardinall *de Joyeuse* in a splendid Embassie both to *Rome* and *Venice*.

In *Spain* the Duke of *Lerma* complain'd to the English Ambassadour for the profer of such assistance that his King had made to the Republic, which had put her to stand higher a tiptoe against the Holy Father, and impeded the Treaty, for She wold not shew Her self so obstinat against him, if She were not so much encouraged by his King, because from *France* She could expect but words, or peradventure som troops hired with her own silver.

The Treaty began now to be pourfued with som heat, and the Cardinall *de Joyeuse* carried himself with such address, that he overcame all difficulties, and brought both parties to a conformity; but the Republic wold by no means part with her Laws, or revoke Her Decrees formerly mention'd touching Ecclesiastics, and Her Ban against the Jesuits. She only deliver'd the foresayd Count and Canon to the French Ambassadors hands, who deliver'd them afterwards to the Nuntio; so the quarrel ended, the thunder ceas'd which had made such a noise, and cut the Princes of Christendom so much work to do: her upon Letters of thanks were written to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, but specially to the King of great Britain, for his propensity and good intentions towards the Republic: The Cardinall *Joyeuse* had a present of 6000. Crowns value, and *Don Francisco de Castro* had another of 3000. who had bin sent from the King of *Spain* expressly to compose these differences, which charge, in his first Speech before the Duke & Senat, he sayed, that he had willingly undertaken both in obedience to his Catholic Majesty, and for the particular affection he did bear unto so illustrious a Signory, hoping easily to conclude a peace betwixt the Holy Father and his Serenity, specially seeing he shold not meet with those three impediments that usually render all Treaties difficult, which are, first, the passion or extraordinary affection of him in whose name men treat, or of him who treateth: secondly, the inconvenience of the matter treated, and thirdly, the incapacity or want of good will in the person with whom the treaty is. For touching the first, it was certain that the King his Master was well-affected, and had no other aims but the common good; That the greatnesse
of

of the Republic was advantagious unto him, as being the Bullwark of Christendome against the power of the Turk; and for his own person, he protested, that he was not com to use deceit or subtilty being Noble by birth, and therefore oblig'd to tell truth above all things. Touching the second, the point of treaty was for peace, a thing excellent in its own nature, and for an union with the See Apostolic, a thing very profitable to the Republic, all stories being full of the mutuall good offices which they have ever rendred one to the other, as on the contrary, their disunion must needs be pernicious to the Republic; for if their cause were unjust it wold incense all Princes against them, and though it were reasonable, yet was it not fit therfore to forget what reverence men shold owe to the Sovereign Bishop. Touching the third, That the Treaty was with a Senat of great prudence, lovers of peace, enemies of novelty, who had bin Authors alwaies of tranquillity in *Italy*, not of troubles: he discours'd further of the domages of war, and the mischiefs of heresies, saying, *That although the Republic by her own strength and greatnesse could repell all sorts of violence, and was able to withstand sufficiently all that shold assault her, nevertheless other succours not expected or desired wold, unall'd for, offer themselves, and such as might be suspected hard to dismiss, &c.*

We will now take a little more pains then ordinary to acquaint the Reader with the manner of that Ban by which the Jesuits were exterminated from the Venetian Dominions, which was exactly as followeth.

Of the expulsion of the Jesuits.

THE Republic of *Venice* having taken, as formerly was sayed, into their prudent and cautious consideration the multitude of Religious Orders, & the daily encrease of them up & down, & that almost half the Revenues of the State was by that means got into the Churches hands, perceiving also the multitude of Monasteries, & that they were seated in such posts as might prove a hindrance to the public defence, being places fitter rather for *Fortresses* then *Convents*, considering also that ther were instituted already Religious Orders enough for the propagation and preservation of Christian Religion, and for directing them in the way to heaven, and having upon these reasons pass'd those two Decrees, the first wherof was, *That no other Order but what was already establish'd shold be admitted into the Territories of the Republic, and that none shold build any Churches without the concession of the Senat*; The second, *That no person whatsoever shold give or leave any Lands by way of Legacy unto the Church, but those Lands shold be presented to the Senat, who in lieu of those Lands wold give the Church a countervailable summe of money, and annex the Lands to the public demians of the State, to prevent, least in tract of time the Church might ingrosse a'l the staple possessions of the Signory*: The Republic, I say, having pass'd these preventive edicts, the Jesuits, who not long before had crept into the Republic, began to stir and storm at these

new Decrees, conceaving that they were made directly against Them, and their Society; wherupon they complain'd to the foresayd Pope *Paulus Quintus a Borghese*, desiring his Holines that he wold write to the Senat to have these Decrees revok'd, and abolish'd, as being destructive to the Church, to piety, and charity in generall, as also to some particular Orders of Religious men, who subsisted by the secular charity; which if it were thus restrain'd, wold be of exceeding ill consequence: herupon the Pope writ to the Senat (as was sayed) to recall their Edicts; they refuse it, he therupon interdicts and excommunicats the Republic, commands all Religious Orders to come out from amongst them, and that none shold say Masse, or officiat in any of their Churches; wherupon many departed. The Senat herupon, to justifie and uphold what they had done, sent for all the Religious Orders, and commanded them, notwithstanding this Interdiction, to officiat, and sing Masse as formerly, otherwise they shold expect severity from the Duke and Senat: The Jesuits, among others, were convented before the Senat, who appearing, they were interrogated, *if they wold continu to officiat and say Masse notwithstanding this Interdiction*; they answer'd, *That they wold do their Offices*. The Senat herupon not expecting any equivocation, dismis'd them to their Cells; so they departed, and instead of officiating they did shut up their Church doors, and refuse to say Masse: Herupon the Senat sent for them again, and ask'd them whether they had not promis'd to *officiat*, and celebrat the *Masse*; they answer'd, *We promis'd to do our Office*, by which they meant to read so much ev'ry day in the Roman Breviary as was enjoyn'd them: The Senat finding themselves thus trifled withall, and affronted by these equivocations, presently dismis'd them for the time, and falling to a serious consultation what to do, and weighing well the danger of their stay, took occasion forthwith to banish them, both from the City of *Venice*, and out of all the rest of Her Dominions: this businesse was carried so closely, that within two daies after, in one and the same day and hour, they were exterminated out of ev'ry part of the Republic to *Ferrara*, and to other parts of the Popes State. But the Jesuits themselves all this while, having not the least suspition or fear of such a rigid proceeding, they were surpriz'd upon a sudden; and the Decree executed upon them in this manner. At night som Senators were appointed to go to the Jesuits Monastery (which was done in other parts at the same houre) where being com, they call for the Rector to appear presently before them; he in *Venice* comes out half unready, he was demanded what number of Jesuits ther was in the Convent, which being known, they were also suddenly sent for, som were taken out of their beds, som without shoes or stockings, and generally all unprovided; The Senators demand strictly whether ther were any more of the Order, they sayed ther were one or two who were in nature of Cooks, and did other servile offices; they were sent for also, and so the whole Society standing thus before the Senators, they acquainted them with the substance of the Decree, *viz.* That forthwith, without returning any wher back, they must immediately quit the City and Republic; the Jesuits being astonish'd at the suddenesse

denesse of the thing, desir'd they might have time to put their affairs in order; 'twas replied, no, they must away instantly; for ther were boats ready for them: since ther was no remedy, they desir'd their books and papers, but it wold not be granted, nor leave to fetch their cloaths, but just as they stood they must pack thence; which they did, being som of them half naked, and so they were transported to *Ferrara*. Afterwards ther were som appointed to peruse their papers, notes and books, wher many discoveries were made: The next day the Senat met and confirm'd the former Decree, wherunto was added this new clause, *That if any Prince d mediat for them, before they shold enter into any consultation for an Answer, the old Decree shold be first solemnly read, and if it was to be put to the question, ther shold be an hundred of the hundred and twenty Senators of the Pregadi concur in their suffrages for them, els the determination shold be of no effect.*

Immediately herupon they sent a solemn Embassie to the Pope, to declare unto him the motives that induc'd the Republic to such an extraordinary proceeding, hoping that he wold not prefer so upstart an Order, before so ancient a Daughter to the Church of *Rome*, &c.

This high Act of Ostracisme for the expulsion of the Jesuits; was not much displeasing to the Venetian people, but men women and children sent these acclamations after them as they departed, *Andate, minte pigliate, & maritornate*; go your waies, take nothing, and never return; and a solemn suffrage pass'd afterwards in the Senat, that none of what quality soever, not excepting the Duke himself, shold for the future intercede for their re-admission, nor were the rest of the Ecclesiastiques much sorry for their banishment; for it is observ'd, that a kind of strangeness and aversion appears betwixt other *Church-men* and reclus'd *Orders*, and this new Society since their first establishment; but meer reason of State induc'd the Venetians to shake them off, because they profess a stricter tie of obedience or slavery rather to another Prince, which is the Pope, to whom they do transmit, and make a kind of resignation of their bodies and minds; they are to acknowledge him *tanquam Christum presentem, & Scripturam loquentem*, as appears by *Loyola's* Letter to the Fathers of *Portugal*, wherin among other passages, he writes thus, *We easily indure to be out-done by other Orders, in fastings, watchings, and other hardneses which they use in a holy manner, according to their Institution, but in purity and perfection of obeaience, I earnestly desire that we shold surpass all the rest, with a true resignation of our own will to the Holy Father, and a deniall of our own judgment.*

This Vow looks full upon another Power, that under which they live, viz. the Pope, to whom they commit both soul and body, and to be no more their own, not to beleve their own sense, judgment or understanding, but to transfer all, and to submit themselves totally to him; to go, com, do, say, execut upon all, and against all, whatsoever he shall command, according to the form of their Vow, which is not improper to insert here, and runs as followeth,

'As many as shall make profession in this Society, let them not only know before they make it, but remember as long as they live, that all

'this Society in generall, and more particularly those that are profess'd
 'in it, serve God under a faithfull obedience to the most Holy Father
 'the Pope, and although we be taught by the Gospell, and do know by
 'the Orthodox Faith, and firmly hold that all the faithfull people of
 'Christ are subject to the Pope of *Rome*, as to the Head and Vicar of Je-
 'sus Christ, yet notwithstanding for the greater devotion to the obedi-
 'ence of the See Apostolic, and the greater deniall of our own wills, and
 'the more certain direction of the Holy Ghost, we have judg'd that it
 'would be very commodious that ev'ry one of us, and ev'ry one that
 'shall hereafter follow the same profession, besides the common tie of
 'the three ordinary Vows, be bound herunto by a more speciall Vow,
 'to wit, that whatsoever the present Pope, and all others hereafter for
 'the time being, shall command for the good of souls, and the propa-
 'gation of the Faith, or into what Countrey soever they shall please to
 'send us, that we be bound to perform their pleasure immediatly, with-
 'out any tergiversation or excuse for as much as lies in our power, whe-
 'ther they be aminded to send us against the Turks, or other Infidells
 'whatsoever, yea though it be even unto those that are call'd Indians,
 'among Heretics and Scismatics, whosoever they be, or among Chri-
 'stians; and to the end that no ambition or refusall may take place a-
 'mongst us, by occasion of these deputations and elections of Provin-
 'ces; let ev'ry one know that he need not trouble himself about it, nor
 'take thought for it, in as much as all the care therof must be left to
 'God, and the Pope as his Vicar, and to the Generall of the So-
 'ciety.

Besides this generall astringing Vow reflecting upon spirituall mat-
 ters and missions, they have other Tenets which are pernicious and de-
 structive to the temporall Jurisdiction of the Prince, as *Emanuel Sa*,
 who was accounted one of the chiefest Oracles of that Order, hath it
 in his book entituled, *Aphorismi Confessoriorum*, wherein after that he had
 studied the point forty years, as he professeth in his preface, he doth
 assert, *That the rebellion of a Clergie-man against the King is no Treason, be-
 cause he is no subject of his.* They have another Tenet, that *subesse Roma-
 no Pontifici est de necessitate salutis*, viz. That to be subordinate to the Bi-
 shop of *Rome*, is of the necessity of Salvation; besides, they hold that
 an error in points of Faith is no other thing then an opinion held against
 the Papall Decision; but the most dangerous of all is, That the Pope
 can dispence with Subjects from their Alleageance to their Prince,
 though lawfull and naturall.

For these and other politicall considerations, the wise Venerian did
 rid himself of the Jesuit, fearing that in a short time this subtile Society
 might prove to be *Respublica in Republica*; nor since that day wold any in-
 tercede or stir for their re-admission, till this year 1650. that the King
 of *Polands* brother being of that Order, hath made an Overture of In-
 trodution in their behalf, with a profer of three hundred thousand
 Crowns, which businesse is now in agitation.

Add herunto, that the Jesuits being commonly Inciters to warr, and
Padagogs of Arms (as they call them) they could not sute with the dispo-
 sition

sition of the Venetian Republic, who hath bin observ'd from her cradle to be more inclin'd to peace then war, therefore doth she give the shield for her Arms, which is the embleme of defence, not of offence and assaults.

ANTONIO MEMMO was created next to L E O N A R D O D O N A T O Duke of Venice, who govern'd the Republic about three years. 1612

G I O V A N N I B E M M O came after, in the beginning of whose principality the old Controversie was reviv'd 'twixt the Arch-dukes of Austria, and the Republic, touching their Confines; wherupon the *Vscocchi* did much infest the Seas; so that the war grew hot with the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*; the Venetians march'd into *Friuli*, with a considerable Army, and seizing upon som Towns upon the Frontiers, beleager *Gradisca*, ravaging the Countrey up and down, *Moscavica* afterwards was taken by the Venetians; the siege of *Gradisca* being quitted, much hurt was given, and taken in *Croatia*, *Istria* and *Dalmatia*, and the Territories of *Friuli*; but afterwards the Venetian Army was disbanded by reason of the raging of the plague; the Castles of *Lucmi* and *Zmini* were taken by the Venetian, but Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* having got to be King of *Boheme*, a Treaty of Peace was set on foot by the interposition of the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, but so many difficulties occur'd in the businesse, that no accord could take place; therupon divers Traverses of Hostility pass'd between them afterwards; then a Truce was agreed upon, which brought with it a-little after a firme peace, upon the conclusion of which peace, Duke BEMMO finish'd also his course in this world. 1615

NICOLAO DONATO being nere upon fourscore years of Age, was elected Duke by the Senat, the people not liking this choice, som sparkles of sedition began to appear, which by the sagacity of the Senators were quickly quench'd: This Duke liv'd but one moneth and a day, he was us'd to be much carried away with predictions, and to tamper with Astrologers; wherof one having pried into the *horoscope* of his Nativity, and taken much pains to measure out his life, and foretell his destiny, he told him positively, that he shold die *in carcere Nobili*, in a Noble prison, meaning the Dogeship or Dukedom of Venice, which is barricadoed with so many restrictions, specially, *That the Duke may not go out of the City of Venice, without the knowledge and consent of the Senat, &c.* that it may truly be call'd no other then a Noble Prison, or golden Cage, which made one say, when the Senators were once so busie in their mysterions ballotations for creating a new Duke, *Here's a great deal of stir for setting up a Head of Wood*; alluding to the small latitude of power the Duke hath. 1618

ANTONIO PRIULI came to wear the Ducal Cap, and the Coronet of Venice next after *Nicolao Donato*; in his time ther was a League struck betwixt the Republic, and the States of *Holland*; to which purpose ther were splendid Embassies sent by both Parties; but a little after this Duke breath'd his last. 1618

FRANCISCO CONTARENO then succeeded, at the beginning of whose 1623

whose Government the Republic made another League with the French King, and the Duke of *Savoy*, both these Leagues were made by the Republic, of purpose to spite the Spaniard, who had not long before set upon her skirts the Duke of *Offuna*, being Viceroy of *Naples*, who wold pick a quarrell of purpose with Her about the extent of her Dominion in the *Adriatic Gulph*, which war put *S. Mark* to spend much of his Trefure for the time. A little after, ther happen'd a keen war about the *Valtoline*, wherein the Republic was interested, and stir'd nimbly in it, and good reason she had to do so against the House of *Austria*.

Whileit the wars lasted 'twixt the Republic and the Duke of *Offuna*, she hir'd som men of War from *England* and *Holland*; the two thousand English, which were under the command of Sir *Harry Payton*, complain'd about the conditions of their pay, which were not so good as those the *Hollander* had: Herupon a mutiny happen'd, and som of the English died by Martiall Law, but Mr. *Herbert* one of the chiefest of them was pardon'd, in regard he was allied to *William* then *Erl of Pembroke*, who interceded strongly for him, and had a great stroke with the Venetian Ambassador at that time resident in *England*.

GIOVANNI CORRELIO was the next in succession to *Prinli*. About these times ther was a notable and most rigid (though mistaken) piece of Justice upon the person of *A. Foscarini*, a Noble Venetian and Senator of the wide Sleeve, which is of the best rank, who had bin formerly employed Ambassador in *England*, and other places for the Republic: Two pernicious malevolent fellows, who it seems owed him a revenge, for som crosse office he had done them, did traduce, and accuse this gentleman upon oath, that he had had privat intelligence, and litterall correspondence with the Spanish Ambassador. Now the Republic of *Venice* hath bin alwaies observ'd above all other States to be so cautious of home conspiracies by a kind of exces of circumspection, that upon the least proof, the party suspected is dispatch'd to the other world, and never suffer'd to err twice in this kind: the sayed mischievous fellow being pertinacious in his accusation, this infortunat gentleman was condemn'd, and being drag'd to the place, was executed like a common Malefactor betwixt the two Columns in *S. Marks* place, and sent on an Embassie to the other world, though never to return: The year had hardly com about, that the sayed Accusers were apprehended and imprison'd, condemn'd and executed for som flagitious crimes; but as they were bidding a farewell to the world, they confess'd that they had wrongfully and most unjustly accus'd the sayed Noble gentleman: therupon his body was taken up, and re-inter'd with extraordinary solemnity, and reparations made to his Heir in a high measure; besides, ther was a *Manifesto* publish'd by the Senat, for the vindication of his honor, and fidelity to the Republic.

Ther was a casuall ill-favour'd clashi happen'd 'twixt *England* and *Venice* about these times, which was thus: *England* having a declar'd war then both against *Spain* and *France*, Sir *Kenelme Digby* had got Letters of Mart, or rather a Commission Royall, from the King against the French; he steer'd his cours into the Mediterranean, and arriv'd at *Al-*

gier,

gier, upon the Coasts of *Barbary*, wher being a Cavalier of that lustre, and known to be a servant to his Majesty of great *Britain*, he was magnificently receav'd, so that he did many good offices for the English Captiffs that were ther: thence he sail'd into the *Ar hipelago*, and taking som prizes in the way, he turn'd the Ships to men of War, so that he came to have a Fleet of six Vessels strong. After many encounters, he made at last towards the Bay of *Scanderon*, he came first before Cape *Congare*, ten Leagues distant from *Alexandretta*, or *Scanderon*, whch is counted the key of *Aleppo* by Sea, and wher he lay at Hull all night: On the morrow he sent a boat to descry the road, and to bring back intelligence accordingly; word was brought, that ther were before *Scanderon* two Venetian Galeasses, with two other Galecons, two English Ships, and som French Vessells, one of which had com in but the day before, being very rich, and having not as yet unladen any thing: Sir *Kenelme* spent all the night following surveyng the preparations for fight, and firing, in his severall Ships, for that he expected a furious assault the next day from the Venetian Generall, who had declar'd himself protector of that Road, and was reported to have given out, he wold sink all the English men of War he shold meet, either in the Venetian or Gran Signor's Seas, Sir *Kenelme* understanding this, was not much daunted, but made towards the Road, having prepar'd all things, and fitted his Ships for defence, if need requir'd.

The Venetian Generall having weigh'd Anchor, hois'd up his Sails, and directed his cours towards the English Fleet, and being com within half a League, Sir *Kenelme* sent a Satty to inform the Venetians of his quality, and that he sail'd by vertu of his Majesty of great *Britains* Royall Commission, giving them assurance of all respect and friendship, and that the French were the only object of his attempts, for which he had sufficient warrant: He sent Letters also to the two English Vessells that were in the Bay for their satisfaction, that his businessse was not to disturb their Negotiations: But before this Satty could go aboard to deliver the Venetian Generall this message, the Admirall Galeasse of the Venetians discharg'd seven or eight shots, the first wherof lighting short was receav'd as a salute, and was answer'd with another piece from the English, but som of the rest hitting Sir *Kenelmes* Ship, and seeing that they aim'd at his Flag, he gave them three or four broad sides in a very short space, which did much hurt both to the Venetian, and the French, who were joyn'd with them for protection: so they retir'd to a further distance, but the English Ships pourstued them, and played so well upon their Galecons, that the men stow'd themselves under hatches, and left their Vessells to the fortune of the Sea without guidance: The Galeasses coming up then to their succour, receav'd also such a rude welcome, that they row'd away to shelter themselves under the English Ships that road in the Bay, which was don purposely, so the French were left alone, and som of their Ships being lusty Vessells, they came up close to Sir *Kenelme*, who directed his two lesse Ships to deal with the m, but they being not able, the Rere-Admirall went to their succour, and so put the French to the worse. Among the English ther were none hurt to

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death,

death, but of the French and Venetians it was reported ther were above eighty slain, of whom one was a Commander of the Land soldiers, whose losse was much lamented: This action of the English was question'd by the Turks, because they had don hostility to his friends within the Gran Signor's Road, therfore by the subtilty of the Venetian, and complaint of the French, the *Bassa* of *Aleppo*, and *Cady* of *Scanderon* took hold of the occasion to take an avenia upon the English Merchants, exacting from their Consulls large summes.

But *Landi* the Venetian Ambassador then residing in *London*, made a high clamorous complaint against Sir *Kenelme Digby* and his Adherents, in a solemn audience before the King and Councell of State, aggravating the busiöesse to the very height, and aspersing Sir *Kenelme*, that such a man shold infringe the sacred peace, which was kept inviolably twixt the Crown of *England* & *S. Mark* so many Ages, and never broken till then from the beginning of the world. But Sir *Kenelme* at his return justified all his proceedings, & prov'd that he had not contraven'd or transgress'd his Commission any way. *Landi* being shortly after to depart, and apprehending som danger from Sir *Kenelme*, the King commanded him to visit the sayed Ambassador, and (to save his Honor) to tell him that he had receav'd Commandement from his Majesty for so doing: Sir *Kenelme* accordingly perform'd this Ceremony, which he had no sooner done, but the Venetian Ambassador came immediarly to his house to repay the visit, so they were reconcil'd, and the busiöesse ended.

FRANCISCO ERIZZO was sworn Duke of *Venice* afterwards, which swearing they do not call an oath, but by a more civill term, 'tis stil'd, *Promissione Ducale* in the record: he was a person full of years, and freighted with experience, therfore ripe enough for the Government.

At the beginning of his time the Republic enjoyed a profound universall peace by Sea and Land, but the growing greatnesse of the house of *Austria* did trouble Her, in regard of their new acquets in *Germany*, the Emperor having reduc'd the *Bohemians* to an exact obedience by way of conquest, and the *Spaniard* having the *Palatinat* in his hands, therfore she was well pleas'd that the *Swed* did rush into *Germany*, which wars she fomented with her countenance, and somthing els: Besides the Emperor had a little before disturbed the peace of *Italy*, by the imperiall title he claim'd to the tutele and protection of the young Duke of *Savoy*, during his Minority, which the French King his Oncle by the maternall side took upon him, but the Emperor, back'd by the *Spaniard*, thought to get it by the sword, which caus'd som perturbations in *Italy*, therfore the Pope also was well contented that the Emperor was shaken a little by the *Swed*.

Ther was employed about this time *M. Capello* a Venetian gentleman of an ancient extraction, a person of a small bulk, but well timber'd both for body and brain, to have the charge of the garding the Gulph, with a number of well appointed Gallies. At *Vallona* upon the Coasts of *Dalmatia*, he met with the Barbary Fleet, whom he assaulted so vigorously, ther being many gentlemen of his own kindred engag'd in the service,

service, that he sunk divers of them, and took the Admirall Gally of *Algier*, (a Vessell of vast bignesse) which he brought with him away, and she remains to this day for a Trophy in the Arsenall of *Venice*: The Gran Turk did very much storm at this; therefore the Republic, rather then enter into open hostility against so potent a Neighbour, was contented to part with three hundred thousand Crowns to accommode the difference, wherof she recover'd part out of the Comendams of the Knights of *Malta*, which they enjoy'd within Her Dominions; but the foresayd *Capello* was clowded a good while after, and had it not bin for his great Alliance, it might have gon worse with him for having exceeded his Commission in this action, such an exact obedience the Signory expects to be had to her Orders, be the successe never so glorious.

Ther was another piece of Justice executed also upon *C. Moro*, who had bin a Senator, and one of the *Pregadi*, but afterwards he took Holy Orders, and shav'd himself to becom an *Abbot*; he was us'd to go frequently in a disguise to the *Spanish Ambassadors* house, and hold correspondence with him, which is Treason in a high degree among the Venetians; therefore being discover'd by a *Bandito*, who had fled to the sayd Ambassadors house for shelter, the *Bandito* had the Ban taken off, and a considerable annuall Pension given him ever after, but the *Abbot* was strangled, and his carkase dra'd to *S. Marks* place, wher he hung by the leg betwixt the two Pillars from Sun to Sun, in his Monasticall habit.

Som years after ther happen'd a new disgust 'twixt the Republic, and Pope *Urban* the VIII. about the extent of their Boundaries upon one anothers Frontire, which was aggravated by som books that were printed, and permitted to be expos'd to public sale in *Venice*, which books reflected upon the old quarrell that had bin 'twixt *Paulus Quintus*, and the Republic; Pope *Urban* resented it so far, that by the impulses of his Nephews, he caus'd an ancient Inscription or Elogy to be defac'd and raz'd, which had bin set up in the *Sala Regia* in the *Vatican*, as a Monument of gratitud to the honor of the Venetians, for restoring Pope *Alexander* to *S. Peters* Chair, when he was chas'd thence by the Emperor *Frederic*, (as formerly hath bin declared:) The world thought that the Republic was offer'd hard measure herin, and though the affront sunk deep into Her, yet she hid the impressions it had made a good while, till she might find som oportunity to right her self. The *Luqueses* also having ordain'd somthing for restraining the exorbitances of the Clergy in that Common-wealth, provok'd the Popes indignation so far, that he excommunicated them: The Gran Duke of *Toscany* fell also under the same Censure, because he made the Churchmen to pay a new Gabell upon Grinding Mills, as well as the secular subject. But ther fell a higher clash then all these 'twixt Pope *Urban* and the Duke of *Parma* about a summe of money, which he was accountable for to the *Famexze* bank in *Rome*, for which he had engag'd his Castle of *Castro*: herupon he was also excommunicated, and a high feud fell out 'twixt the Cardinal *Famexze*, and Cardinal *Barberini*, the Popes Nephew, herabouts. The

French Ambassador at *Rome* interpos'd in the businesse, by instructions from his Master, but Pope *Urban* told him, *That he might chastise the Duke of Parma, who was his Subject, as well as his Christian Majesty did take off the head of Montmoreney, &c.* Herupon the *Castro* was secur'd for the Pope, and besides, he musters up an Army which advanc'd as far as the Frontiers of *Modena*, and so seconds his spirituall Arms (which had gon before) with the temporall, making his Nephew *Don Taddeo* his Generall, who demanded passage to go on to the invasion of *Parma*; but he found more difficulty in this expedition, then he did in the taking of *Castro*, wher he found no opposition at all. The Duke of *Modena* sent a complementall Answer to the Pontificiall Generall, touching a free passage, which in effect did countervail a deniall, and this he did by consultation with his Neighbour States; for this Papall Army tending so much to the disturbance of *Italy* (who was in an universall repose before) did awaken the spirits of all the Princes: The *Luqueses* in their little industrious Republic began to humm like so many Bees in a hive; The grand Duke of *Toscany* stood in a maze, but the Signory of *Venice*, who was us'd to be the chiefest instrument to preserve the common peace of *Italy*, was more deeply sensible of this disturbance, in so much that *Don Taddeo* was denied passage ev'ry where, which made one say, *That ther was a great deal of difference betwixt that Pontificiall Army, and the ancient Army of the people of Israel; for at the marching of the one, the Sea it self divided his fluid body to let it passe, but at the marching of this, all the world seem'd to close together to hinder the passage:* For a little after a League was struck to that purpose, 'twixt the Republic of *Venice*, the Gran Duke, the Duke of *Modena*, and him of *Parma*, who had all former grounds of discontent.

During this Contrasto, and Traverses of war 'twixt the Pope and *Parma*, ther was a notable Libell or Satyre drop'd up and down in divers places of *Italy* against *Rome*, and the person of *Urban*, which in regard 'tis a very materiall piece, compos'd of a mixture of divinity and policy; and that it tends much to the understanding of the State of *Italy*, I thought worthy to insert here, a person of great knowledge and quality being the Author thereof.

The famous Invedive against Pope Urban the Eighth, and Rome.

THe Author faineth that the second Person of the Holy Trinity complains to the first, touching the distolutenes and excesses of the Roman Church his Spouse, therefore he desires a divorce from her. The Father being mov'd by his Sons reasons, commands *Paul* to transfer himself to earth, to visit mortalls, and take knowledge of their complaints, specially in *Italy*, against the Roman Spouse, and if need be, to form an exact proces of her actions, speaking to him as follo meth:

Paul, Great are the discomposures, and mischiefs which arise from
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an unchast woman, this very heaven cannot glory it self to be free of them; my only begotten Son is troubled and aggriev'd at the dishonest actions of the Church of *Rome* his Spouse: I well hoped that she had bin capable of a reconciliation, but he holds himself so highly offended, and finds her nature to be so perverted, that he thinks she is incorrigible; therefore with a constant resolution he seeks a divorce from her. Now, what can I deny to my only Son, specially when so much Justice favoureth his complaints? yet I do not intend to determin any thing upon the businesse so hastily, though the eternal Word cannot tell an untruth, that to the end that our Decree may have a sufficient foundation, we command thee to betake thy self on earth, and hear what mortalls can say against the Roman Spouse, and frame a charge against her accordingly; the enterprize may prove somewhat difficult, because she useth to palliat her fautes, and to persecute those men that write against her proceedings; but we assure our selves, that the approved vertue of *Paul*, which heretofore knew how to support the persecutions of the wicked against the honor of Christ, will not shrink a whit in this employment for his service.

S. Paul doth readily obey the Lord, and descends to earth in human disguise, and steers his course for *Venice*, but before he there arriv'd, he casually found upon the way a writing, the Tenor wherof was as followeth and the Endorsement thus, *A Memorandum for the most renowned Republic of Venice.*

Amongst those Princes who reverence *Rome*, your *Serenity* is She, most renowned Republic, who being free from all superstitious credulity, do conserve your Christian Empire from all insidious pretences of Religion; by a most sage Law therefore you did constitut some years since, that the Clergy shold be made incapable to inherit staple possessions, for the dead daily multiplying, and consequently the number of Legacies ev'ry day increasing, in tract of time, the Ecclesiastics wold become Masters of all that wealth, which giving subsistence to all kind of subjects, is destinated for the service of your *Serenity*; therefore whosoever lives free from all passions to the interests of *Rome*, is bound to applaud the maturity of your deliberations in this point; and he who professeth himself a friend to the greatnesse of your Dominions, must needs acknowledge that your high wisdom is warn'd by public necessity to regulat two other no lesse important abuses: The first consists in perpetuity of Legacies; for what avails it to prohibit that staple goods passe not under the possession of the Ecclesiastics all the while that by the multitude of perpetuall Legacies, which use to be bequeath'd, and charg'd upon staple possessions, it will fall out in time, that all the rents shall be drunk up so, and what difference can ther be then I pray 'twixt a perpetuall Legacy, and staple possession? or what benefit shold your subjects receive from the foresayed Law, who though they cannot be dispossess'd of the propriety of the Land, yet they remain depriv'd of the usufruit of it? Now, this redounds to the greater advantage of the Clergy, for while the residuary seculars of the Testators undergo the weight of all public duties and assessments, by keeping in their hands

the fee, the Churchmen do by vertu of their annuall Legacies sweep away the rents without any burthen at all; The zeal of your known prudence will stir you the rather for regulating this abuse, when you consider that the perpetuity of Legacies was introduc'd at first, rather by the cunning of the Ecclesiastics, then for the advantage of souls in Purgatory: for if the pains of Purgatory are sayed to be but *temporary*, wherefore should the simplicity of people be perswaded to bequeath in the behalf of their souls perpetuall Legacies and Mansionaries? Moreover your Serenity ought to consider, that the obligation of Masses multiplying ev'ry day, with the number of Legacies, a necessity seems to arise hence, either to increase the number of Churchmen who are uselesse for public service, or to defraud the wills of the well devoted Testators, wheron if the public eyes wold fix themselves, they should see that the Ecclesiastics do not perform, no not the least part of those daily Sacrifices which they are tied unto; but they salve their consciences, by saying, that the Masse being of an infinit value, one Masse may supply the necessities of many souls, one Masse may also suffice to releeve the urgencies of one soul alone, and the remainder shall be thought a superfluous number, proceeding not from the necessity of the soul, but rather from the cheat arising out of the avarice of the Priest.

The second abuse consists in the multiplicity of Pensions, which are payed annuall to *Rome* from the State of *Venice*: Touching this, it comes into my mind to remember your Serenity, that the Court of *Rome* is like the middle Region of the Air, who useth to make her thunderbolts against the earth, out of those exhalations She draws from the earth it self: so the Roman Church is us'd to form her power for oppression of other States, out of the rents, contributions, and pensions which She receaves from those States themselves: and let this suffice for the high wisdom of your Serenity in this particular.

S. Paul being arriv'd at *Venice*, and sojourning there som daies, saw a Priest drag'd into prison by order of the secular power, and it being ask'd why the temporall Magistrat did exercise his jurisdiction so over an Ecclesiastic, a Venetian answer'd him thus.

'The Republic of *Venice*, nor for any other mens threats, or insinuations, ever deviated from that constant path which Her Progenitors hath pointed her out for her own safety from the beginning, among other jurisdictions which She hath alwaies conserv'd in the very face of *Romes* pretensions and power, one is, to have authority to punish the persons of Ecclesiastic Delinquents, esteeming that Dominion to be absolute and universall, which heaven hath afforded Her within Her own Territories.

'This Republic knows well, That when God did institut Sovereign Power, he confer'd it upon *Saul* over all his people, and over all the Tribes of *Israel* without exception; Now, you cannot deny but among the twelve Tribes, ther were a great number of Levites and Priests, ought the Priests therfore to dissuade the people from that obedience which was ordain'd by the Divine Majesty it self towards their naturall Princes? The Sacraments were ordain'd by God to wash away

away the pollutions of *sin in the soul*, but not to deface the Characters of subjects on the body : Nor was the Law of Christ ever incompatible with the jurisdiction of *Cæsar*, but in their opinions only, who seek pretences to traduce and calumniat it. The Ecclesiastics who interpret all things to their own advantage, pretend to withdraw themselves from the secular Power, by those words of the Gospell, *Nolite tangere Christos meos*, but he who is of a sane and sound understanding, will easily discern how much they are deceav'd in the sense of these words ; For although the same God forbid murder to all men by an expresse Commandement, yet it is lawfull for Magistrats to take away the lives of Malefactors. In the administration of Justice *Lay-Princes* also represent God. Now, for any to pretend a withdrawing of himself from their authority, is no other thing, then to be unwilling to be subordinat to divine institution: If Ecclesiastics wold interpret Scriptures with more reason then passion and partiality, they wold discern that those words *Nolite tangere Christos meos* bear no other sense, then to prohibit any unjust outrage against those Ecclesiastics, who for the goodnesse of their lives, and innocency of their manners deserve the title of Christs; when a Church-man is naught, he falls from that title, and consequently from the priviledge of it ; nor can the Clergy of these times pretend to be exempted from the power of temporall Justice by the foresayd words, unlesse it had bin in case that Christ had sayd, *Nolite tangere Anti-Christos meos*.

This Signory which can discern things in their tru essences, doth not admit the falshood of any interessd opinion to purblind Her own proper understanding: If a Clerk may err *temporally* against the State, the State thinks it reasonable that he may be punish'd *temporally*, by no other hand, then by that to whom God hath committed the care of the State. The danger of a State wold be too too evident, and the confusion also, if the Crimes that are committed against the conservation, and common tranquillity therof, shold stand in fear of no other punishment then what shall come from a forraign Prince, who regulating himself by certain politic interests in lieu of correction, wold haply tolerat, or connive at the Crime to the public damage of that State, and for his own advantage: Behold for example how many Princes in *Italy*, wher the Pontificiall Power predominats, are disquieted ever and anon, and corrupted, by reason of the impunity of Clericall Libertines; and what other thing can be hence expected, but that the Ecclesiastics being exempted totally from secular Justice, they may arm themselves, joyn in bands, and turn their Cloisters to so many Castles, that trampling so under foot the authority of their own Prince, they may establish another Kingdom within a Kingdom? That wisdom which sits at the Stern of the Republic of *Venice*, will never suffer Her own subjects to be able to supplant Her, by the protection and support of any forraign Authority; Clerks are punish'd *temporally*, when they offend *temporally* against the tranquillity of the State, not els; and if it seems strange to the Pope that the Venetians

netians assume to themselves civill jurisdiction over the Ecclesiastics, much more seems it strange to the Venetians, that the Ecclesiastics should usurp worldly dominion over the persons of Seculars: In the mean time they know well that Christ profess'd openly to have no Kingdom in this world.

This Speech being ended, and *S. Paul* desiring to understand the late differences which had bin controverted 'twixt the Republic and *Rome*, is inform'd by a Noble Venetian as followeth.

The Church of *Rome* was reverenc'd by us in that manner which was fitting for Christs lawfull Spouse, but she corresponding with little gratitude, hath not only conspir'd our ruine more then once, but at last hath thrown out of doors the ancient monument of our services, which have bin proclaim'd to the world for so many ages by the Trump of Fame, by the true Narration of Historians, & approv'd by all precedent Popes in public Elogies; *S. Marks* Lion can hardly endure to have that glory eclips'd, which was alwaies the food of his generous thoughts, and it seems strange to us, that *Venice* having rescued a fugitive Pope, and re-plac'd him in his lost Chair, with the expence of so much of her bloud and gold, the memory of this high desert should be now thrust out of *Rome*: yet the Republic being very unwilling that any incongruity should grow 'twixt the Roman Church and Her, consented that the Crown of *France* should be Umpresse. But Pope *Urban* the VIII. since he differeth so much from *S. Peter*, will not confesse when he denieth the truth *imo nec voce Galli*, but persevering in an obstinate opinion not to restore the Elogy, being contented by a foolish *capriccio* of his own to give this generall attestation only, that the Church of Christ hath bin alwaies serv'd by Princes of all sorts: Insomuch that that ancient inscription which was seen registred in the *Vatican*, as a monument of Ecclesiastic gratitud towards *Venice*, that monument which Time it self could not deface all this while, the *Barberini* have annihilated at last, because peradventure that having banish'd all vertu from *Rome*, it displeaseth them to see gratitud lodg'd under the roof of their house; or rather because the *Barberini* do not hold themselves beholden for those services that the Church receav'd from *S. Mark*, in regard they are more her Betrayers then Governors; In the interim we cannot but be sensible of this monstrous ingratitude, yet we comfort our selves to see that the Popes disaffection and power to do us hurt, can extend it self no further then the walls of his own house.

S. Paul having parted with *Venice*, goes to *Lucca*, where understanding the contumacy of that little Republic, he wold know the grounds of it, and a Citizen answers him thus in a sad and solemn posture, being glad of the occasion to make the truth known.

Among the Popes of our age, *Urban* the eighth hath bin most prodigall of *Jubilees* and *Indulgences* untill these his latter years; but to shew, peradventure, that he hath no lesse power over curses, then over benedictions, he hath at last by altering his stile, put forth his hand to dart out Excommunications: It was the fortune of this small Republic

‘lic to bear the brunt of his first Censure in this kind; he therby imi-
 ‘tating those who use to try the vertu of poison upon the lesser animalls
 ‘first: The connivency wherby other Princes dissembled this our mis-
 ‘hap, gave him scope to thunder out the second against the Duke of
 ‘*Parma*, nor must Christendom expect other things hereafter but Excom-
 ‘munications; in regard that if the affairs of the world use to succeed one
 ‘another in equall vicissitudes, ‘tis necessary that *Excommunications* be
 ‘as frequent as *Jubilees* have bin.

Now touching the grounds of the Papall distaste with us, they are al-
 dy manifested to the world, I must say, though very sparingly, ‘That
 ‘the originall of ev’ry accident here, sprung from the insupportable li-
 ‘centiousnesse of Churchmen, who did necessitate us to a just resentment.
 ‘It seem’d strange to the Church of *Rome* that so small a Republic as
 ‘ours durst resent the outrages of Ecclesiastics, who shold rather com-
 ‘ply with them, considering that this State is too narrow to be sensible
 ‘of such insolencies; and so persisting in an obstinate Censure, he choo-
 ‘seth rather to see our perdition hastned, then the exorbitances of his
 ‘Clergy moderated; but we being not conscious to have committed
 ‘any Delinquency which might deserve to exclude us from the face of
 ‘God, we comfort our selves in this case with the memory of *Balaam*,
 ‘who unjustly curs’d the people of *Israel*, nor have we ever rested since,
 ‘to procure a right understanding, by the interposition of a person of
 ‘great credit with the Cardinall Nephews, that they wold be pleas’d
 ‘to appease his Holines’s displeasure (expecting still a miracle from the
 ‘words of some Asses) but to this hour ther hath nothing come
 ‘of it.

But the *Barberini* are in Armes, and this Martiall appearance they
 think will inforce us to desire a reconciliation, as for the rest which
 concerns the soul, if an Excommunication hath power to cut us off from
 the union of this present Church, why shold we think it capitall to be
 separated from so infected a body, and freed so by continuall examples
 of sacrilegious lives, and from the despair wherinto the Clericall Ty-
 ranny wold plunge us! Confiding therfore in the Justice of our Cause,
 and in the assistance of those wise Princes who cannot away with the
 ravenousnesse of this Pope, we trust to receive som fruits of the intro-
 ducement of these Censures, in regard that if this course hold, the
 world will see that as *Jubilees* pass’d were pretexts for som new im-
 position, *Excommunications* will serve hereafter as pretext for some new
 Rapin.

S. Paul having understood the grievances of the *Luqueses*, passeth on
 to *Parma*, wher having in the habit of a Fryer insinuated into the ac-
 quaintance of the Duke, he desires to understand from his mouth the
 Contestation he hath with the Roman Church, and the Duke answer’d
 him thus.

The world hath already understood too much the causes of the quar-
 rell I have with the Church of *Rome*, being publish’d not only by my
Manifestos, but by the writings of other particular pens, who have wil-
 lingly protected the justnesse of my cause. But since it pleaseth you,

good Father, to hear from my own mouth the grounds of these differences which have kept such a noise. I will relate them unto you with that brevity of words, which may suit rather with the present encumbrances that afflict me, then with the nature of the thing it self.

Know then that the particular urgencies of my house have erected in *Rome* a Bank call'd the *Farnese Bank*, which obligeth my fortunes to contribute an annuall cense to my Creditors. Now *Urban* the VIII. being assail'd by some turbulent spirit in these last periods of his life, thought with himself to build a little new Fort of divers pretences upon this bank, thereby to set upon my Duchy of *Castro*: But I had good reason to hope now in these my troubles som support, rather then any oppression from that Seat, of whom the ashes of my Progenitors do yet glory to have merited so well; but all *gratitud* being extinguish'd in the breasts of Ecclesiastics, *charity* is also much diminish'd amongst them, which neither moves them to any compassion, nor to be a whit aggriev'd, though they see mountains of miseries heaped on one's back; a desire to enrich the Nephews, which is the *primum Nobile* of the Popes mind in these times, prevail'd over all reason, and prepotency of plundering did facilitate the way to dispossesse me of mine own; nor did the tyranny of *Urban* the VIII. stop here, but he thought that I wold take it nothing ill if he did excommunicat me, that being so segregated from the Communion of the Faithfull, none durst hear my grievances, or reach a hand to help me: A great cruelty in a Shepherd, that slaying his sheep alive, wold not have them to carry naturall affections about them to resent the hard case of one another; More-over to varnish the pretext of his Censures, he publisheth me for a disobedient son to the universall Father of *Christianity*, But whether he is to be acknowledg'd as a Father, who enemy-like robs his children, judge you? Can he expect to be reverenc'd as *S. Peters* Successor, when differing from *S. Peter*, he stops his ears to the words of Christ, who commanded him to sheath his sword? Christ did institut a peacefull Kingdom, nor did he ever ordain that his Cause shold be handled with Armes: Neverthelesse the present Bishops make use of them, because they are ready to meddle with any other Cause then with that of Christ: In the *interim*, good Fryer, my fortune is worse then that of *Malchus*, for if *Malchus* was offended with the weapon of *Peter*, he was heal'd again by the hands of *Peter*; but I find my self hurt by *S. Peters* sword, yet cannot perceave his hand is dispos'd to cure me, or restore me mine own.

S. Paul being departed from *Parma* goes to *Florence*, wher being brought to the Court, he heard the Gran Duke much transported with choler, speaking to a Councillor of his in this manner.

Then *Urban* the VIII. intendeth that a Clergie-man shall go exempted from the imposition of Millstone, wherunto the interests of my State oblige me to subject without exception any one that lives under my Government; and who is he that arrogats temporall Jurisdiction over anothers Authority? In the time of Christ secular Princes had their tribut, and shall they now be refus'd in *Urban's* time? By this means

'means the credulous simplicity of the Laity shall be continually taught
'to contribut so many Gabells to the Clergy, and the Clergy shall be
'free from all taxes to them, and who at any time leaves possessions to
'the Ecclesiasticks, they must be free from such Contributions which the
'Law of Nature awards ev'ry protecting Prince. Who did ever affirm
'that the Legacies of privat men can be exempt from the public Juris-
'diction of their Prince? These are new Doctrines which tear the
'world in pieces, being introduc'd by those Bishops, who together with
'the Evangelicall precepts, have forgot that Christ himself when he
'was upon earth payed tribut to *Cæsar*, professing that he came to ful-
'fill the Law, not to abrogat it; and shall we admit in our free States an
'Authority, which beyond the Order and example of Christ pretends
'to have power to controul, and transvolve the Dominions of others;
'yea to trample upon the Princes themselves; Is this the paradise that
'Christ promiseth to them that observe his Law, or rather a Hell, which
'they worthily deserve who beleeeve too much in an adulterated
'Church. But I observe that the Ecclesiasticks by too many stiles, do
'subject the simple seculars to pay contribution for Indulgencies, for
'Dispensations, for the Word of God, for sacrifices of the Altar, and
'in sum for all the Sacraments, which the Divine goodnesse hath affor-
'ded gratis to all the faithfull: But what do I say? the avarice of the
'Clergy is grown to that height, that it doth not permit those poor souls
'that are under the agonies of *Death* to depart from this world to the o-
'ther, till they conjure them under the pretext of pious Legacies to
'pay a toll for their safe conduct, constraining to bargain for their very
'graves, they sell them for ready money the embraces of our common
'Mother the earth; and I in my free State must not impose the least Tax
'as that of the Millstone upon my subjects: But let *Urban* practise what
'he please, let Him thunder what Excommunications he will upon my
'Gabelleers, I shall learn well enough how to fence away his blowes,
'I will make the Jews my Receavers; nor shall I ever suffer that *Tosca-*
'ny be oppress'd by such rapacious Tyrants, who under the mantle of
'Religion exercise such robberies upon us.

S. Paul leaving *Florence*, resolves to visit the State of the Church; in
his journey he is accompanied with a subject of the Popes, who vented
forth his discontentments unto him in these words, upon some expostu-
lations of S. Pauls.

'I was born a subject under the paticular Dominion of the Church
'of *Rome*; and that's enough, good Frier, to pronounce me miserable;
'The Civill Justice administred in my Countrey by Ecclesiasticks, the
'Authority abus'd by them that govern, and their custom degenerating
'daily into cruelty and rapine, have made the subjection insupportable,
'and the lifes of those unhappy who live under the temporall Scepter
'of the Roman Clergy, my tongue cannot sufficiently expresse the ri-
'gidnes of their Government, let ev'ry one comprehend by their ty-
'rannicall practises they do exercise abroad what they do at home; I
'was enforc'd to forsake my house for a Tax impos'd upon me for li-
'ving well, when a young rich man is discover'd by greenness of Age,

'and heat of blood to be prone to any lightnesse, presently comes a new
 'Edict which will make him lie under a grosse sum of money; herby
 'it comes oft to passe, that a small fillip sometimes doth equall murder,
 'and words are as dangerous as deeds; for all comes under the title of
 'transgression, though the fault be no other then a slip of youthfull light-
 'nesse. Furthermore, the Ministers who govern our State of *Rome* under
 'colour of zeal to our Salvation, are wont ever and anon to send certain
 'Catchpouls to search mean blind places & cottages, to see whether any
 'subject cohabit with a Concubine, ev'ry thing lies under the search
 'of prowling eyes, and the insolent hands of those Ragamuffins; I will
 'say no more then this, that under the Domination of other Princes
 'the Jews are more gently us'd then we are under the regiment of the
 'Ecclesiastics; nor is it a wonder; for som *Churchmen* of our times
 'are haply greater Enemies to the Gospell of Christ, then som *Chri-*
 'stians are to the Talmud of the Hebrews.

S. *Paul* a little after meets with a *Maronis* passenger, who had taken a jour-
 ney from Mount *Libanus* in *Syria* to see *Rome*, and was returning home-
 wards; S. *Paul* begins to mingle speech with him, asking him of his
 Countrey, and of the Motives that induc'd him to com to *Italy*, and
 what opinion he had form'd within himself of *Rome*? wherunto he an-
 swer'd thus:

'My Countrey is *Armenia*, the cause which brought me to *Italy* was
 'no other then a desire to learn the tru Tenets of the Catholic Doctrine,
 'which in our Region is adulterated with such a multiplicity of Sects,
 'that they confound one another. The eleventh year is now coming
 'about that I have breath'd air under the climes of *Europe*, having so-
 'journ'd longest in *Rome*, being led thither by Fame, which sometimes
 'useth to represent things otherwise then they are in their own essence:
 'I figur'd within my self *That City* to be She, who as She pretends, so
 'She had deserv'd to be the Head of all Christian people, as being the
 'School of Sanctity, and patern of all vertu. And truly at the first
 'sight I thought I was not a whit deceav'd by any extern appearance
 'which oft times doth dazzle and fascinat the eyes of the simple. The
 'magnificence of Her Temples, the great number of pardons, such a
 'confluence of people flocking to *Church*, and the visit of holy places,
 'imprinted within me such an opinion of the Roman piety, that when
 'afterwards I fell to observe the lifes and luxury of the Cardinalls, lit-
 'tle compatible with the Doctrine of Christ, I ascrib'd the cause of my
 'mistake rather to my own ignorance, then want of Religion in others;
 'but when I seriously descended into my self, I thought I was not born
 'senselesse: Proesse of time and mature reflexions, made me discern af-
 'terwards that the Roman Religion consisted most in Ceremonies of
 'exterior worship, which were it properly defin'd, might be call'd a
 'kind of practise of life in the small sort, and an hypocrisie in the grea-
 'ter. For the rest, ev'ry action being judiciously examin'd, you will
 'find it tending chiefly to objects of privat interest and temporall be-
 'nefit, profit and delight are the two poles wheron the Firmament of
 'Roman designs wheel about; if Christ and his Law be embrac'd, it is
 not

'not embrac'd for the tru finall end, but as means to compasse some ter-
 'rene businesse, which transform'd me to wonder while I observ'd how
 'much Christ was vilified among the Romans, considering how much
 'he serves their turn for encreasing their temporall interests: You shall
 'find all vices reduc'd in this City, as to their proper center, and which
 'is worse, with specious titles of holines; their pomp appears under the
 'name of Church *decorum*, and their ambition under the title of Maje-
 'sty, their tyranny under the semblance of zeal, nay most scandalous
 'lusts are brought into the houses of the greater sort under the mantle
 'of spirituall recreations: Adulation hath founded here her Palace, for
 'you shall have it preach'd most impudently that the Pope cannot err,
 'notwithstanding that his actions are the very tops of errors: Tell me
 'O reverend Frier, if the Pope cannot erre, wherfore are ther Decrees
 'and Ordinances of Councells instituted; 'twere enough to be regula-
 'ted by his will, only without importuning any Synod, or attending
 'any rules from the universall suffrage of Christianity, But to unbowell
 'unto you my tru meaning, I hold that the Ecclesiastics now that they
 'see they cannot fit the custom of the Pope to the Laws, they
 'procure to fit the Laws to his customes; God forgive them who fo-
 'menting a parasiticall Doctrine introduce so many enormities to Gods
 'House, so frontlesse and void of all shame; these men being dandled
 'with ambition, have transported S. *Peters* Seat from Caves to Thrones
 'of Gold, these being carried away with avarice to declare this magni-
 'ficence to be necessary for the dignity of the Church, together with
 'those worldly Dominions so expressely forbidden by Christ: Poor
 '*Church*, to what case art thou reduc'd? the time was when the Clergy
 'were reverenc'd for the Sanctity of their lives, and profoundnesse of
 'their learning, and for the fame of their miracles; but now they raise
 'respect unto themselves by worldly rule and greatnesse, for nothing els
 'makes them to be reverenc'd now adaies. But to compasse this *mun-*
 '*dane grandeur*, which is founded most commonly upon Bases of gold,
 'what unlawfull path is not troden? what iniquity is not practis'd? the
 'Law of Christ being turn'd by the Ministry of the Romans to be a
 'Law of ruin and rapin: ther is no action exercis'd in the Roman
 'Church, but you shall find it conjoyn'd with the interests of worldly
 'emolument? O how deplorable are these times, were they parallel'd
 'with those of the Ancients, yea, when the world was depriv'd of E-
 'vangelicall Light! Then, if an *Alexander* rose up, who with an immense
 'kind of cupidity snatch'd at ev'ry thing; Nature who is a friend to
 'counterpoises, created a Philosopher, who glorying in his poverty,
 'contemn'd the possession of all transitory Princes. But now among
 'the Christians, if a Pope starts up, who with insatiable appetit goes a-
 'bout to grapple all, we do not find that vertu hath such a force as to
 'dispose any Ecclesiastic to shew an example of that poverty which is
 'commanded him by heaven: Good Frier, if you have ever bin in the
 'Dominions of the Church, you will be astonish'd at such abominati-
 'ons wherwith the Worship of God is daily prophaned. Moreover, you

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shall

' shall hear nothing els preach'd in the Pulpits but Paradoxes, Delight,
 ' not the utility of souls being the scope of their matter, and so the ears
 ' being tickled with the Doctrine the Collections use to be greater,
 ' which under the name of Almes is drain'd afterwards from the Audi-
 ' tors, but their sacrilegious greedines stops not here, you shall see of-
 ' ten lame miracles publish'd for gain, you shall often see those inspired
 ' Fathers use certain acts of Conjurat[i]on, rather to draw money out of
 ' the purse, then to cast devills out of the body, you shall oft times see
 ' many neglected Images making themselves miraculous upon a sudden to
 ' enrich the Ecclesiastic professors, deluding by this trick the simplicity
 ' of those who hold that the vertu of doing miracles being lost in men,
 ' is retir'd into statues of stone and wooden pictures. In somm, the abuses
 ' are so many which are introduc'd by the covetousnesse and rapacity of
 ' the Romans, that I prognosticat that all reality of Religion will
 ' be quite extinguish'd ere it be long, and faith her self also as much as
 ' remains; for I have observ'd that Christ did not live long upon earth
 ' when he was put between two thieves.

' Ther is an opinion that's current among som Theologues, that when
 ' the Host begins to moulder the Divine Prefence, immediatly departs
 ' from the Eucharist. Now, if Christ cannot stay, no not the least mo-
 ' ment in corrupted bread, how shall we think that he can abide to stay
 ' amongst a corrupt people? Friend, if your salvation be dear unto you,
 ' turn face about and never go to *Rome*, cast your self rather upon the re-
 ' motest shores of *India*, whither they say all vertu and Religion is re-
 ' tir'd perhaps to be the further off from *Rome*; one cannot sojourn in
 ' this City without endangering his Faith; take example by me, who
 ' being com from among the Mahumetans to learn to lead the life of a
 ' Catholic, do now go away hence with strange kind of confus'd imper-
 ' fect thoughts within me to turn Turk.

S. Paul having parted with the *Maronit*, and advancing towards *Lo-
 vette*, while he pass'd in a Friars froc hard by a village, he was call'd in
 to confesse a dying Cardinal, he goes in, and hears his confession, which
 was thus:

' Father, I feel the pangs of death com upon me, God summons me
 ' to satisfie the last debt of human nature, my soul finding her self in these
 ' extremes, trembleth to appear before the face of God, in regard She is
 ' so full of carnall spots. It is your function to help me to wash them off,
 ' while these eys of mine shall afford you tears, and this panting spirit,
 ' though struggling with the assaults of death, shall endeavour to declare
 ' unto you in short periods the sum totall of all my offences pass'd.

' Know then that I was born to a poor fortune, but nature, who hath
 ' also her portion of goods in this world to dispense among mortals, was
 ' pleas'd to endow this body with such Prerogatives, that my parents
 ' might well formalize som hopes within themselves of my greater ad-
 ' vancement at *Rome*, Being grown up to twelve years, devoting my self
 ' not to God but to Ambition, they cloath'd me with the habit of an
 ' Ecclesiastic, and to stablish the foundation of their hopes the better,
 they

they applied me to the service of a Cardinall. Now 'tis a rule, that wher
the end is crooked, the means tending to that end can hardly prosper:
Hence it coms to passe, that now adaies in *Rome* to arrive to the
end of their designs, they do not use learning and vertu, the effects of a
tru heavenly vocation, for means, but courtship and flattery, which are
the base parts of that interest which hath alwaies an eye to the world-
ly advantage of ones self: I applied my particular study to be a profici-
ent in the garb & fashion of the Court, which is no other thing then to
devote ones person to any pleasure of the great ones, He who confes-
seth must not conceal any thing, but be pleas'd Father to comprehend
in your imagination whatsoever, wherin an engaged and well respected
youth may sin, and suppose it in me, so my feeble tounge shall be ex-
empted from the labour of my Narration, only this I tell you, that I
knew how to gain the entire affection of the Prelat my protector, and
he, for my sake was not ill look'd upon at Court. Pensions did reign
upon my person, which made me wonder at that which the Ancients
write, that *Jupiter* shold Metamorphose himself into a showr of Gold
only for *Danae*, since he converts himself so more often now for *Gani-
medes*: This my youthful age was free from those passions which use or-
dinarily to transport the minds of young men, *viz.* from the love of wo-
men; yet I do not deny to have tried it oft, it seeming to me very
strange that I shold pray, who was us'd to be prayed unto, but I conti-
nued not long in that state, my humor alter'd with my age, then I en-
tangled my self in Feminine Love, and in a short time I tried what a-
dultery, fornication and incest were; In the mean time I arriv'd to that
age which was capable of Priesthood, then taking Holy Orders I liv'd
a while retir'd within my self, being perswaded to a moderation of life
by that Synedresis, that touch of conscience, which coms sometimes by
nature, and teacheth som sort of respect which is to be had to that Sa-
crament; but at the end too much familiarity turn'd into contempt, for
wheras at first I began to sin with som scruple, those scruples quickly
flew away from my conscience, and so I came to such a reprobate sense,
that fornication, rebellion of the heart, and celebrating of the Masse, was
in my person but the act of one hour oftentimes. Father, 'twas no
Sacrament, 'twas a Devill that entred into my soul when I took the
Character of a Priest, it was an infernall Spirit that perswaded me not
to fear that Christ, which was daily to passe through my hands; I found
my self immediatly dispos'd to ev'ry wickednes: And wheras at first no
affection molest'd me, but that of Lust, me thought that all vices af-
fai'd me in a moment: Nor is it to be wondied at, for if *Judas* found
himself to betray Christ after he had taken the sop unworthily, though
but once, much more must it be suppos'd, that those impious Priests
must be inclinable to all motions of prophaneffe, who ev'ry day receive
the Sacramentated Redeemer, peradventure more unworthily then *Ju-
das*: Covetousnesse also came to be my inseparable companion, fomen-
ted chiefly by occasion of that command & authority, I began to get in
the State of the Church, while I exercis'd the Office of a Shepheard,

' I learnt quickly the art to shear my sheep, all that belong'd to the sub-
 ' ject was created, me thought, by nature; for the service of my affecti-
 ' ons: my favors were still expos'd to the highest offerer, nor did I ever
 ' refuse a present from any hand, I did wonder at the custom of the
 ' Priests of the old Testament, who rejected many Oblations as un-
 ' worthy for the Sacrifice, and so concluded within my self, that because
 ' the times and Laws were alter'd, the Priests of the New Testament
 ' ought to receive any thing offer'd them: But this was the the least, for
 ' if the Parishoners did not do it voluntarily, I found waies to snatch it
 ' from them. I remember that among other passages, taking occasion
 ' once to visit a young gentleman, who was within the compasse of my
 ' Jurisdiction, I observ'd in his house som pictures of good value, and
 ' giving him an inkling of my desire, he with many humble comple-
 ' ments answer'd, That he wold be very unwilling to be dispossest'd
 ' of them; I kept this deniall in my brest, and having trac'd a way by
 ' means of the Holy Inquisition to clap him in prison, he presented
 ' unto me the foresayd Pictures, that he might be remov'd only to a
 ' gentler Goal, and afterwards, for his full Liberty, was forc'd to
 ' suffer the better part of his estate to be confiscated; but fearing that
 ' by his appeal to *Rome*, this act of mine might be too narrowly win-
 ' now'd, and so I might run a hazard of the precipitation of my
 ' fortunes not yet so firmly ground'd, to secure my self from after-
 ' claps, I call'd him unto me, and rebuking him for his course car-
 ' riage towards me at first, it made me by right of that incumbency
 ' I held over him, to reform all misdemeanours, and to teach him
 ' how to comply with Church Governours for the future: In fine,
 ' for the reparation of his losses pass'd, I made him a friendly
 ' promise to point him out a way how he might be made capable
 ' to weare an Ecclesiastic habit, and so ascend to the Dignity of a
 ' Prelat: For they in the Romane State, among the multitudes
 ' of their miseries, have no other comfort but this, that they may
 ' easily arrive to such a condition, as may enable them to a re-
 ' venge upon some others the wrong they receive themselves: By
 ' these meanes I knew how to feather my nest so well, that I re-
 ' turn'd afterwards to *Rome* to live in the lustre of a conspicuous
 ' Prelat, by introducing to my house the wonted pomp and exces-
 ' of the old Romanes, I parallell'd any other in ornament of rich
 ' hangings, of magnificent Coaches, in number of Groomes and
 ' Laquais, and specially in multitudes of Courtiers, and gel-
 ' ded Musicians, the greatnesse of *Rome's* ambition being to shew
 ' her self barbarous, yea in the pomp of Eunuchs; eleven youths
 ' did undergoe the Martyrdome of *origin*, of purpose to devote
 ' themselves to the luxury of my pleasure: Poor Boyes! by what a
 ' strange effect doth the lust of others make you chaste?

While

“While I did lead this splendid life, the Cardinall my Protector
 “came to the Poppedom; By this exaltation my hopes soard very high,
 “nor did ther much time passe, when I saw my person, being a Creature
 “of the Popes, advanced to the dignity of a Hat; so I mounted to the
 “degree of a Cardinall, wherein I stand now. Now if my voice had
 “strength to unmask every particular thing, you would be struck with
 “amazement to discover a life so impious in the persons of them who
 “glory in the title of Christs Disciples. I’le tell you in a word, that
 “from the time I obtain’d the Cardinallship, I never kept Lent, I never
 “recited my *houres*, I never confess’d to God, till now in these extream
 “agonies of my sicknes: Such being the custome almost of all Car-
 “dinalls, who finding themselves in a posture to aspire to the Keyes of
 “Heaven, doe think perchance to be able one day to find a way to enter
 “there, without any necessity of good workes. But woe is me, I per-
 “ceive now to have deviated from the wayes of Heaven; I discern too
 “well by the light of Divine grace (which I know not by what excessse
 “of mercy may please to save me for all this) that to lead an eccle-
 “siasticall life is as now accustomed is nothing at all to live a Christian:
 “But if Pagans, yea Atheists, preceiving their own errours, have
 “hopes to be sav’d, why should I despair? This is the onely argu-
 “ment of my hopes, although I think the salvation of an Infidell more
 “easy, than that of a perverse Christian; because my soul finds at this
 “very moment that the *understanding* is more easily illuminated, than
 “the *will* humbled and rectified being too tenacious of her delights in
 “those pleasures, which she must now relinquish with the Hat; But,
 “father, my spirit failes me, give me an absolution, for I feel my self
 “upon point of expiring.

S. *Paul* having absolv’d the Cardinall, upon his departure thence he
 met with an Angell, who after som salutations fell to relate unto him
 what he had overheard in a *Parlatory of Nunnes* as followeth.

You know allredy, O Apostle of God, that I am of those Angells
 which never descended before on Earth, and if in strange Countrys the
 curious mind of the passenger desires to satisfy it self, I confesse that
 among other things, which I coveted to see, one was a Monastery of *Nuns*,
 who were so much spoken of in Heaven that I took them to be Angells
 on earth. Being come therefore to one of the prime Citties of *Italy*, I
 took the form of a strange youth, and entred at the privatest hour I
 could into a Monacall Parlatory. I found at the windows a young
Nun, which had no other busines it seemes, but to attend the coming
 of som body. I was scarce spyed by her, when she asked me an ac-
 count of my Country, and what fancy took me to traverse the World
 up and down in that maner; I, bethinking my self of Heaven, answerd,
 my Country, most gentle Sister, is too far distant from this place, and
 whereunto few of this Region arrive. Touching the fancy that leads me
 to traverse up and down the World, it is no other than curiosity, which
 often draws youthfull lightnes to neglect their own profit, and to re-
 gard others. Foolish youthfulness which canst not learn how to value
 thy Countries good but a far off; then I added, happy are they who

never departing from within the Paradise of these holy walls, seem as so many Angels alwayes appearing before the face of God. She being as full of Spirit as She was of beauty answered thus, O how many of us would willingly change our Paradise for your peregrination, wherefore then doe you complain so causelessly of your travels? which being no other than the motions of a civill life, it cannot chuse but be so much the sweeter to elevated minds, by how much the higher the movements of their souls are. Behold the Sun, behold the Planets, which never staying still in one place delight to be continuall travellers in the Unvers.

I being much taken with the vivacity of this femal spirit, replied: It is true Lady, that the Sun and the Planets are in a continuall peregrination, but there are in Heaven fixed Stars also, which, because haply they are more noble, are superiour to the other, and consequently nearer the throne of the Almighty; These *Nuns* then, who to serve God are always permanent in one place, like the fixed Stars, may more than any other mortalls comfort themselves with an assurance that they are nearer God. The beauteous Maiden sighed at these words, and then answered: God, I deny not, dwels nearer to the fixed Stars, but not to desperate souls; And now you discover your self to be a stranger, that you are not acquainted with our condition. The cruelty of our Parents, and the rigour of our destiny hath pend us in here for ever, the Church of *Rome* concurring hereunto by admitting any pretext whatsoever, bear with me Sir, that I speak thus. It is a hard fate to be born to a perpetuall prison, while it is seen that all other living creatures have the whole World to solace themselves in; And that Prison, which it seems the very infants fly from, when they fall out of their Mothers wombs before they have as it were any sense of life, we are constrainde to endure, after that nature hath given us the perfect use of our sense, and life, and the knowledge of our miseries; The destiny of that mortall must needs be a hard one who is born to live in restless infelicity. This Cloyster, which surrounds our Liberty, is not, as you imagine, a Paradise; for in Paradise there dwels no discontentment; It is rather a Hell wherein the flames of inextinguible desire the naturall affections of our humanity are condemned to be tortured every minute. I will not stand to expresse the cause why our Parents are so inhumanly cruell unto us, for it is too well known, that for to spare that dowry which is due to our Sex, they condemne us twixt these walls, to be deprived for ever of any worldly delight, for no other cause, but because we are born Women, yet you must know, that the shutting us thus by force between these stones, cannot deprive us of those carnall affections which may well be covered but not quench'd in that religious habit that you see about us; Nor can this kind of life conduce to Heaven, considering ther's no concurrence of the will, which is so acceptable to the all-knowing Lord, we are rather destinated to an Abisse, by a course clean contrary to our genius, being bereft also of that common privilege, which other souls use to have to go to Hell what way they please. In ancient times it was the custom to slay the *Victimes* first, and then Sacrifice them to God, because haply the principall seat of the corporeall affecti-

affections lying in the blood, 'twas not held convenient to offer his Divine Majesty any holocaust, which was not first purg'd by effusion of that blood from all earthly passions; But this is not observ'd in us by our Parents, who do make Sacrifices of us with all our blood and passions about us, then, how can we believe that it is gratefull to God Almighty? and being not gratefull to him, consider what despair our souls are plung'd in, which see themselves shut out of the world here, without any assurance of Heaven hereafter in regard we have not power to extinguish our naturall affections, and so are in danger to precipitate our selves headlong into Hell through a kind of suppos'd innocence. If *Christ* died to reduce us to such a hard condition, oh how better were it for us that he had not died. Be not offended O stranger at the words, for the tongues of the damned can bring forth nothing but blasphemies: yet we know that *Christ* hath no hand in this our hard condition, for his death had for its principall object the freedom and enlargement of souls, not their captivity. The *Popes* are most in fault, by yeelding to the cruell covetousnes of our Parents to transvert the Keys of Paradise into the Keys of a Prison. It was not *Christ*, no, it was the impiety of *Herod*, that by reason of the humanation of our Saviour caus'd so many innocents to be slain. Behold, we are in a case equall to theirs, because we being yet innocent children under the mark of holines, we are segregated and cut off from the society of the living, ther being no difference twixt us and them, but they dye before Buriall, and we are buried before Death. Nor can our innocency, or our fears Prevaile any thing, nor are those privileges sufficient which nature hath granted these faces of ours (for which peradventure you stiled us Angells) to implore from others pity and succour, having found the Church of *Rome* so ingratefull, while we consider that the time was when *St. Peter* was freed by an Angell out of prison, but now clean contrary Angells are cast into prison by the successors of *S. Peter*. But whither doth violence of just passion transport me thus to rave? Helas, the name of Angell doth not suit with our condition, and lesse with our operations: For although we are brought innocents hither, yet we cannot preserve our selves long in this Monastique life from the motions of desperat passions; The Religion which clasp'd us in here is not ador'd, but detested by som of us, vanity and fæminine wantonnes is here in the height; Here dwels curiosity in excess, and desire of knowledge in worldly matters without end; Ambition, Envy, Discord, and Hatred, is never wanting among us: Lastly her's observ'd neither Constitution, Law or Vow, but out of pure necessity and unavoidable violence. But what shall I say of that Maiden-chastity for the conservation whereof we are principally penn'd in here? I leave that for you to imagine, it being not permitted to femal modesty to make any further expressions in this kind; I only tell you this, that we procure all means possible to outrage and abuse it, and not without reason, for if this Chastity hath been the principall thing that hath retrench'd our liberties in this maner, we ought to aym and bend our chiefeft forces to be reveng'd of our chiefeft enemy. And here this beauteous *Nun* blush'd, and broke the thread

of her Discours. I confesse unto you O holy *Paul*, that if I had a breast capable of terrene affections, I wold doubtles have tenderly resented the misery of this discontented soul; but compassion is vain, where ther's no power to comfort; therefore I held it expedient to take my leave, that I might not imbitter her passions any further; so at my departure, I said, When I came in hither, Oh most beauteous *Nuns*, I look'd upon you as on so many *Seraphins*, but hearing the state of your hard condition, I find you to be the unhappiest creatures that live under the Law of *Christ*. Wer it permitted me for to help you, I promise you I wold batter down these walls and give you that liberty which others take from you; but since 'tis not lawfull for any to do so, comfort your selfs at least that Heaven is reserv'd for your suffrances. And although you protest not to suffer for *Christ*, yet *Christ* is so mercifull, that he can give beatitudes to those *Cyreneans* who cary his Cross though forc'd therunto; And I dare assure you, that if you cannot gain Heaven as *Virgins*, you shall gain it at least as *Martyrs*.

S. Paul afterwards going on in his Journey arrives at last at *Rome*, before the gates wherof he meets with an Angell in a melancholy posture, who was the Gardien Angell of *Urban* the 8. therfore he making himself known to him begins to expostulat with him why he had abandon'd the care of the Popes person, wherunto the Angell made this Answer.

I Stand here, O holy *Paul*, to gard the Gates of this *City*, because it is not in my power to preserve the soul of *Urban*; it is impossible to bridle his Caprichios, nor can any Angelicall strength do it; I have tryed al imaginable meanes to reduce him to the way of reson, but cannot do it; therfore I will expose no longer the Divine Inspirations to scorn, but I intend to take my flight to Heaven to give God an account of the deviations of his soul, and to supplicat afterwards that he will be pleas'd to disburden me of the weight of so heavy a charge, which hath in a maner perturb'd the whole peace of my Evangelicall state; It is a great happiness for holy *Paul* to be made an Angel, but he who knew how heavy the Ministry of garding humane soules is wherin we Angells are employd, specially when we encounter refractory humors in a soul, as in that of *Urban*, he wold peradventure more esteem the happines of man, who having travell'd but one age only in this lower World, goes afterwards to enjoy without any disturbance the repose of Heaven: But I repine not at the state of others, yet you well know that he must needs be somewhat mov'd who finds he cannot serve his own Lord as he desires: You, who have had the incumbency to instruct people, and convert whole Nations, know it by experience how uncouth it is to observe the humors of men. And now that you have understood the grounds of my grievances, tell me freely whether I complain without cause, for perchance God hath sent you hither either to check me, or comfort me. The twentieth yeer runns now on that *Urban* the 8. holds the Papacy, whence one may easily calculat how few yeers are left behind, if it be tru whats commonly spoken

spoken, that no Pope shall see as many daies as *Peter*; But if I may unfold my thoughts, I do beleieve that he who spoke those words seemd to prophecy, that none shall see the Church of God in that state of Christian perfection as it was in the daies of *Peter*; But be it as it will, the more yeers com on, the faster evry man runns to that pitt which is the center wher all Mortalls terminat their cours, being drawn down by the weight of that Earth wherof Humanity is composd: Most commonly old men when they com to such a period of yeers use to check within themselves those spiritts which in their youth were usd to lash out into a thousand inordinat passions, endeavouring, being now as it were abandond by the World, to acquire unto themselves by meanes of a tru repentance som sort of shelter in the Sanctuary of Divine grace which is ever redy to receive all those that are forlorn; But be astonishd, O *Paul*, *Urban* the 8. the older he growes, the more loose he leaves the reignes to his own senses, and the neerer he approacheth death, the further he goeth from good operations: He excessively loves the pleasure of his Nephews, nor doth he study any thing but what aymes at their interest: He seldom reflects upon the incumbency of his charge, and if at any time som flying thoughts represent unto him his own duty, he discerneth well that a kind of relation passeth twixt the Papacy and his Person, yet he flattereth himself with this sond conceit, that the Papacy is more bound to serve his Person, than his Person the Papacy: He detests in the extreme the memory of his excesses, the most effectuall meanes wherby the garding Angells use to tame the prowdest soules; He will not as much as think on death, or if sometimes he is brought to think ont, by converting the physick into poyson, he applies his cogitations presently in ruminating how he may aggrandize his house before he goes. If I should tell you how often I found him chimerising within himself how he might make it possible to render the Popedom electif, and to depend no more upon the Consistory, but solely upon the person regnant, that he might establish it in his posterity, you would be amazed at those extravagant imaginations that possesse the mind, even of the Vicar of Christ. But would God were pleasd, that such wishes did terminat altogether in the vanity of the designe, They end commonly in more practicall resolutions, to drain the patrimony of Saint *Peter* for to enrich their own houses with the spoiles of the holy Church. But the avidity of *Urban* stops not here, He little esteems the millions of Gold purloynd from the Altar, to leave his Nephews the possession of an independent Principality, wher they may lay up the unsecurd tropheys of their own rapines; Ther was ever yet in the World a greater number of those who wish to be Princes than Principalities themselves.

Hence it comes, that to purchase these from the tenacious hands of others, there must be force necessarily usd, because hardly any reasons can be found, which may perswade the mind of man to lay down voluntarily the right of a free dominion; which makes *Urban* the 8. being transported by his passions to machinat violent means for to invest his Nephews in another Princes Estate. I could tell you som further designs and fury of his. He accounts often upon the Kingdom of *Naples*,

but he finds the enterprize to be fuller of desire than hopes ; He thinks upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, lending his eare unto the glozing offers of som Minister of a Tramontane Crown, but he dares not trust to that, for if others should intervene, he cannot leave all to the *Barberini*. He fixd his eyes upon *Lucca*, but perceiving it a petty State, he doubts whether the benefit will countervaille the charge. He hath a months mind to *Mirandola*, but being feudetary to the Empire, and a place that breeds som jealousy twixt the neighbouring Princes, he is afraid to draw *Germany* or *Lombardy* on his back. Lastly, he turns his eyes to *Parma*, and this enterprize being made lesse difficult by the advantage of som pretences, he purposes to deprive the poor Duke (beginning with *Castro*) of all his possessions. I put him in mind how much it did misbecom Bishops, and other Prelats of the holy Church, who make profession of a life differing from Sword-men, to change the Crozier into Musket-rests, Rochets into Corsets, and their Miters to Murrions. I put before his eyes the scandall that would redound to all Christendome therby, the scorn that Infidells would conceive of it, and the danger the Church should incur, foretold by our Saviour, who positively warneth that every Kingdom divided in it self hath its dissolution near at hand : But it is to beat the Aire, to tell *Urban* of all this, which hath every thing for his aime, but the indemnity of the Church. Finding that these arguments were of little force, I applyed unto him the spur of nature, alleging that the events of War were dubious and dangerous, to raise in him therby some apprehensions of fear, which commonly takes place in old mens breasts ; But nature could prevaile little, reason lesse, and the inspiration of an Angell nothing at all over the hair-braind humors of *Urban*. He who now entreth *Rome*, may see a Pope turn'd Armiger, now in his decrepit times, one that takes up Armes then, when he should meditate how to lay down his life to nature ; And which is worse, he thinks all this to be according to the dictamen of reason, so that *Urban* the Eighth never doth that which he believes, but believes in that which he doth ; inso-much that at the same time when he tears *Italy* to pieces, and snatcheth the state of another, he publisheth his actions to be right, his intentions holy, and that all tends to the service of God, and the object of good ; as if the formality of good in his Idea were different from that which is in the opinion of other men. But I omit many extravagances wherewith this capricious soul hath abusd my last patience. Once he setled a resolution within himself, not to give any satisfaction at all to the Princes of Christendome, notwithstanding, that I often put him in mind that this was the basis whereon was founded the conservation of Christian obedience. Another time he resolved to create no more Cardinalls, it may be to merit the more of the Church of God by abolishing so perverse a generation ; but he repented himself afterwards of this, for no other reason, but because I opposd him in this resolution. If a tutelar Angell can suffer greater contempts, tell me, O thou Apostle of God ? I find that the reputation of Angelicall custody is too much engagd in continuing to stand about him thus : Therefore in despair of his amendment,

ment, I have given over all care of his person that I should not delay my return to Heaven.

Saint *Paul* having understood the complaints of the Tutelar Angell of *Urban*, enters *Rome*, but an accident befell him which enforced him to fly, and as he was going along another Angell comes in his way, whom he encounters with these expressions.

YOU come, O Heavenly Messenger, peradventure to charge me from his Divine Majesty that I should avoid *Rome*: Behold how I have left her already before your comming; for divine inspirations forerun the very flight of Angells: But now that I am come out of *Rome*, let's repose a while, and I wil relate unto you the unexpected cause of my hasty departure. You know, O Angell of God, that I was sent from Heaven to Earth to hear the complaints of Mortalls, and to form a proces against this adulterous naughty Spouse: I lighted to this purpose in many places, wher having fully understood by all degrees of people her dissolute deportments, to confirm with mine own eyes what came from other tongues, I resolv'd at last to come to the City of *Rome* it self. I pass'd too and fro at first in the froc of a Frier, There, as I went through a little blind Hamlet, I was call'd in to confesse a dying Cardinall, which gave me warning, that the habit descrying me to be a religious person, twas likely, that entring so to *Rome*, I might (according to the custome) be question'd for the Patent of my Orders, or the License of my Superiours; I hereupon to evade the telling of any lye, held it expedient to lay down the Froc and take my Sword: So I came into *Rome* intending to lodge in some Covent of Friars, who being us'd to thrust themselves into worldly affaires more than the Seculars themselves, I thought I could there very leisurely have a free and exact information of all things, specially because the freedom of speech is retir'd now into Cloisters for more security, in regard of the extream rigour which is us'd to punish those who speak any thing against the Court. The Monastery where I was lodg'd was famous for the study of Letters, and so it was frequented by many Learned men; But the greatest concours was of Strangers, who so abound in *Rome* of all Nations where desiring to know what conceit Forrenners had of that Church, I disputed often upon some point of Religion: There happened to come thither a Turk, rather to hear, as I imagine, the noise of the disputation, than to inform his judgment; so I ask'd him his opinion of Christian Religion, wherunto beyond all expectation, he answered thus.

Amongst the Turks it is held for certain that God doth favour those people most, where he is truly ador'd; so, from the prosperity of the Turkish Empire, we inferr, that our faith is good, and the observance of it not displeasing to God. Touching the Christians Religion, we have an opinion, that she was not naught, untill she was adulterated, and made naught by Christians themselves: But in the state she is now in this City, we believe her to be abhominable to God Almighty, specially since we see that of late she goes annihilating and mouldring away by little and little, by her own inward and endlesse

endlesse discords. Such was the conclusion of the Turk, which made me, I confesse, to marvell not a little, while I observed, that even those who professe not much knowledge, can deduce from far-fetch'd Principles Consequences so near the truth.

Having had his opinion, I went on in making a further scrutiny, and I fell to expostulate with a Greek, who was us'd to repair to Rome for the opportunity of studying in Clementine Colledg, who answered to my interrogatories thus.

The Roman and Greek Churches are Sisters issued from one Father, but the Greek is the first born, and I know not by what wiles the Roman came to take away her birthright. For this cause they live in most grievous disgusts one with another; But the one enjoys the possession of all her Paternall goods, whereas the other lives as Esau did excluded, and under the dominion of another. Touching the particular customes of the Roman Church, I say nothing; for he that censures her in this City, shews he knows not his own danger, And he who approves her carriage, understands not the Law of Christ.

With such words the Greek satisfied my demands. As touching the opportunity which was offered me to mingle speech with a Frenchman upon the same subject, I understood his conceit thus.

The name of the Church is revered by a great part of the Kingdome of France, but the wisdom of our Governors hath never permitted the Pope to extend that excesse of pre-dominion beyond the Alps, which he doth exercise in Italy; for our policy is supported by particular Gallican rites: And the reason is, because the French being naturally impatient, and now that nere halfe France (to withdraw it self from under the Roman yoke) is infected with Heresy, certainly if the Pope should exercise upon the Consciences of that spiritfull people the tyranny he doth exercise in Italy, the rest of that great Kingdome would fall from him quite.

Such were the expressions of the Frenchman, which did stir in me a curiosity by way of opposition, to hear what the Spaniard would say. Nor was it difficult for me to obtain my desire, by meeting with a Nobleman of Seville, who frequented the same Convent, I entred into his friendship, and he rendred me satisfied by such discours.

Friend, to serve you I will speak beyond the customes of this Nation, with all ingenuity of heart: The reverence which the Spaniards do professe to the Roman Church, may be considered in two manners, inward and outward: If you ask me of the inward reverence, suppose it to be not unlike that of other people who have full knowledge of her Customes (The Spaniards being of a genius apt to esteem things as they are in value) But if you ask me of the outward reverence, know, that the Spanish Nation in extern appearance shew themselves very observant of the Roman Church, because that having found her alwaies most partiall to the interests of their Crowns, they hold themselves oblig'd by termes of gratitude to correspond with her at least in outward observance. My King knows well how available for depressing of the suspected greatnes of his Subjects hath bin the pretext of the holy inquisition: He lives mindfull of that promptitude shew'd in the Court of Rome, to deny an absolution to the House of Bourbon, untill he had conform'd himself to the Austrian

Austrian satisfaction ; And lastly he knows how much to this very hour the pragmaticall Jesuits have serv'd him to dilate in evry part, (with their own advantage) the bounds of the Castilian Empire ; So that in contemplation of all these respects, the Spaniards hold themselves oblig'd to reverence the Roman-Church, in exterior appearance at least, though she were far wors than she is.

Here the Spaniard did terminat his censure, while my diligence, which desisted not to procure all punctuall advertisements brought me to discourse with an *English-man*, who gave this modest Answer : *Sir, I am a declar'd Enemy of the Roman Church, therefore, I presume, my words can gain no credit with you ; but if you desire to know what respects this Church finds Northward, read our Doctors and perchance your curiosity will be fully satisfied.*

Thus O Angell of God, I endeavour'd in *Rome* to bring to perfection the Proces which was committed to my charge against the adultrous spouse ; And passing one Morning by a Church, where they wer casting out a Devill, I went in because of the noise, and then the ill Spirit knew my person, and began to cry out, her's *S. Paul*, her's *S. Paul* ; Truly he is com in an ill time from Heaven, to view the state of that Church for which he shed so much sweat ; good Saint, what motives brought him to this lower World ? was it to see how his labours fructified ? Ah, the pure grains of that Doctrine which his eloquence sow'd in the Vineyard of the Lord are turn'd to tares, and becom food for ravenous Birds such as these are, who stand about me now, to disconjure me with their hideous noise. Upon this cry the Priests began to fix their looks upon me, wherupon, fearing to be discovered, I softly retir'd ; but the words took such impressions in the mind of the Exorcist, that he did conjure the Spirit by violent threats to manifest who I was, who being not able to resist the violence confess'd I was *S. Paul*, who by resumption of humane shape (he knew not why) wandred now upon Earth ; The Priest had no sooner knowledge herof, but he presently found means to give notice to the Pope ; A little after, my lodging being found out by spies (wherof ther are a multitude in *Rome*) I suddenly perceiv'd a Courtier making towards me, and breathing out these words ; O holy *Paul*, in the name of *Urban* the Eight I com to do you reverence ; He is well informed of the condition of your being here : He earnestly desires that you would be pleas'd to favour his House with your presence, for he is ambitious to have a stranger of so high a quality for his Guest. The Courtier spoke to me, O Angell of God, thus in very proper phrase ; for in these times Saints ulc to be call'd strangers in the state Ecclesiastique ; whither I was astonish'd or no to see my self thus surpriz'd and discover'd, judge you ; I thank'd his Beatitude in the best manner I could, for his courteous offer, and excus'd my self not to be able to receive that honour, in regard I was of necessity to depart from *Rome* within a few howres : when I had disintangled my self thus from the Cour-

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tier,

tier, I call'd my thoughts to counsell, and feeling, that my heart did preface me som sinister accident, I resolv'd upon flight; and I was gon but few paces further, when the same Courtier came again and told me thus; *Urban* the Eighth, O holy *Paul*, doth remand me to you, to second his first invitation, but if in case you are resolv'd not to grace his Palace with your presence, I have order to propose another request unto you: In your Epistles we read, O Apostle of God, certain passages which manifestly contradict the humors of our holy Father *Urban* the Eighth, he prays you to mend them, because it is not fitting that *Paul* should gainsay the will of *Peters* successor: And if you desire to know which are those passages, one among the rest is, that, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*. *Urban* the Eighth would, that from this universall proposition the souls of Popes should be exempted; He thinking it not fitting that the Popes should be subordinate to any other Law, but that of their own affections and fancy, for so their actions should not be censur'd by every sensles man, as they are ever and anon now a dayes; His Holines also much desires, that the words be utterly expung'd, which assigning to every Bishop his own incumbencys, do speak in particular, *Diaconos habeant non turpe lucrum facientes*, Let them have Deacons not given to base lucre. These periods displease in a high measure *Urban* the Eighth, for he of necessity must have about him his Nephew Cardinalls and to grow rich. Here the Courtier stop'd, when I poor *Paul* fell to discours with my self thus: See, thou art in danger to be entrapp'd, notwithstanding that thou hast been confirm'd in the state of grace, but what could be expected lesse in *Rome*? perceiving at last that he attended no answer, I put my self to reason with him thus: O Papall messenger, the busines which you propound to me, is of no light moment; for he who is tender of his own repute, cannot be easily induced to unsay himself; you know that my Doctrin hath run through the World till this day without alteration, Now what will people say to see it now differ from times past! And who will not perswade himself that the alteration proceeds rather from the caprichio of some convicted Hereticks, than from *Pauls* Pen. Moreover to what purpose will it be to vary Apostolicall Doctrins, when the Popes without any regard to them do operat still according to their own fancies? But now that his Beatitude doth desire this superfluous alteration, I will not faile to serve him in the best maner that God shall inspire me. The Courtier departed with this answer, which he took for a promise; but I to reserve my self to execute what God had injoynd me did immediately fly away from *Rome*, being warn'd from Heaven so to do. I was scarce out of the Citty, when I remembered to have left my Sword behind, and being in suspense with my self, whether I should return to fetch it or no, I spyed coming after me, one who was also a forrener in the same Convent where I had lodgd, and had often shewed me arguments of love, who coming near me, cryed out, friend, begon, begon, I come after you of purpose to tell

tell you, that you were scarce gon, but another Courtier came to seek you, and inform'd of your flight, he carried news therof to the Pope, and a little after the Pope himself came to your lodging, who finding not your person, took away your Sword, saying in a kind of choler, that if *Pauls* Pen refuse to serve him his Sword shall. This Sword shall force Princes to bend and bow at my feet; This, this shall conserve *Castro*, subdu *Parma*, and shew the world that ther is no necessity of reason, where the edge of a brandishing Sword shall make a way. Giving thousand thanks to my friend, who knew not what *Paul* nor what Sword the Pope spake of, I took my leave of him, and continued my flight, being troubled in my thoughts, that my arms shold be left in such a hand which imployes them for the service of his own tyrannicall affections to the univerfall scandall of Christianity. If it were possible, O Angell of God, to bend him to the voyce of the Almighty, I could wish you to go and inspire him to peace; But *Urban* hath too too refractory a soul; therefore I hold it more expedient, that you wold please to diffuse your inspirations amongst the Princes of *Italy*, to incite them to take out of his hands these Armes, which were taken from me without reason, and are now drawn out against them without justice. To this end I have fram'd a Letter, address'd to the *Italian* Princes wherunto I held it not much necessary to affix my name, because it is known already I am on Earth, and it is of this tenor.

URban the Eighth, O Princes, transported with the violence of an unknown wrath, took possession of my Sword, of purpose to make use of it against the quietnes of your States; If you will not resolve to take it out of his hands, I doe exhort you in the name of the Divine Majesty to do it, because it is not fit, that that blade which is designed for the conversion of Infidells, should be stained in your blood; Nor let that idle scruple amuse you, that he is your shepherd, for the true shepheards do guide their flocks with gentle wands not with weapons. Remember that Isaac suffered himself to be slain with the hands of his Father, to be sacrificed to God, not to the fury and passion of his Father. And S. Peter left a Fishers knife behind him to be us'd against Fish, which are not creatures of our element. Encourage your selfs therefore by his Counsell and mine, neither think yee the designe difficult, for although *Urban* seem furious, yet he that is not habituated to handle weapons may easily let loose his bald. God inspire your hearts, and prosper your resolutions.

This is the tenor O Angell of God of this Letter, which I beseech you to carry (with your inspirations) to the hearts of Christian Princes. I in the interim, before I return to Heaven, must go and visit *Jerusalem*, to kiss that place again, wher the very inanimate stones being more gratefull than *Men*, keep yet fresh the memory of Divine Mercy.

THE aforeſayd Confederacy being made between the Princes of *Italy* in behalf of the Duke of *Parma*, his ſpirits were ſo heightned thereby, ſpecially the Republic of *Venice* being engagd therein, that he put ſpurrs to his Horſe, and entred like a whirlwind into the Papall Territories, finding no oppoſition at all in his paſſage; He incamped the firſt night not far from *Urban Fort*, whence Don *Taddeo* the Nephew had got away upon the newes of his march; From the felicity of this beginning his heart being elevated, he reſolves to push on his fortunes to the very walls of *Rome*; All Forts, and Townes at his approach did open their gates to receive him rather for a friend than a foe; And although the Countrey could not chooſe but be damnified by the march of ſuch a tumultuary ſudden unfurniſh'd Army, yet as one obſerv'd, the Vaſſals of the Eccleſiaſtic ſtate are ſo accuſtomed to hard uſage from their own Governors, that the domages of forren troops ſeem'd but light unto them; yet ther were ſuch ſtrict rigid injunctions, and martiall comands given out for regulating the Army that none durſt commit any rapin or outrage under pain of life.

The Duke with theſe unexpected ſucceſſes advanced towards the walls of *Rome* with 3000 well appointed horſe, which cauſ'd a great deal of confuſion and terror in the City; Pope *Urban*, with the Cardinals and chiefſt of the Roman Inhabitants, retir'd to the Caſtle of *S. Angelo*, where for more ſecurity they ſtowed their treſure, and richeſt moveables; Thus that *Rome* which in times paſſ'd, could look *Hanniball*, and the *Gaules* in the face, doth now ſhake as it were into a quivering Palſie at the approach of 3000 horſe only which came to vindicate the quarrell of the *Farneses*; In this confuſion ther was not one wold propoſe the facing of the insolent enemy, evry one betook himſelf to ſtand on his gard, and the deſenſive part; Evry gate look'd like a *Diocceſſe* having ſom Biſhop appointed to keep it; Herupon Pope *Urban* ſent Cardinal *Spada* to propound a Trety with the Duke, which Negotiation was carried ſo politiquely that it took effect, and ſo a truce was agreed upon for the preſent; ſo the Duke of *Parma* return'd, having reap'd no other fruit by this march, but the name to have diſplayed his Colours almoſt in the face of *Rome*; which, as the moſt ſerious ſort of men were of opinion, became him leaſt of any Prince in regard he was a Vaſſall of the Church, his Progenitors having receav'd ſuch temporall poſſeſſions from Her.

This little War produc'd good effects in *Italy* at laſt, for it took off afterwards various ſorts of diſcontentments, theſe temporall Armes took off the cenſures of the ſpirituall Armes under which divers Princes lay; For by the vigorous interpoſition of *France* a Trety was to be held at *Venice*, where the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena* came in perſon, and Cardinal *Bichi*, a perſon *par negotio*, being a moderat grave prudent man came as Plenipotentiary from the Pope, who in the conduct of this buſines carried himſelf with that dexterity and height of wiſdom, that in one afternoon he made an end of all differences; The *Signorie* of *Venice* was to have her ancient Elogium ſet up in the

Sala

Sala Regia in the Vatican, It was to be renew'd, and inscrib'd in a larger Table; The Duke of *Florence* was to have the Excommunication taken off; and for the future, the Churchmen shold be subject to new impositions as well as the laity, provided that his Holines be acquainted therewith before hand, and his consent had; the Duke of *Modena* was absolv'd from the spirituall censures, and got the Gabells of som places in right to the Duchy of *Ferrara*; The Duke of *Parma* had the Church censures taken off of him, and got further time for the repayment of his arreares putting in caution accordingly; Lastly the little Republic of *Luca* fish'd so well in these troubled waters, that she also got her-self absolv'd from the Church censures which lay upon her: Thus the *Italian* like a wise Nation compos'd in a short time so many differences that perturb'd the public peace, which was don by the sage management of the *Venetian*, as also by the discreet comportment of the aforefayed Plenipotentiary Cardinall *Bichi* a *Sieneſe* born, a kind of War having lasted above two yeers, in all which time ther were not 200. men lost in all, which argues that the *Italian* is more parsimonious of his blood, and more carefull of his life, than either *German*, *French* or *English* who in their civill Wars have lost I cannot tell how many thousands in a far shorter time especially the *last*, which shews that they are not so indulgent of nature, and of that image which God Almighty hath imprinted upon man, as the *Italian*.

NOT long after that the Republic of *Venice* had got out of these bryars, & that principally by her intervention the Pope and the *Italian* Princes were reconcild, an illfavour'd black cloud began to engender against her in the Levant, the Mahumetan Moon appeerd red, and her hornes very sharp, which portended windy and tempestuous wether as it happend afterwards and continueth so to this day; The vapor that went to condense this hideous clowd issued first from the Knights of *Malta*, who had taken at Sea som Gallies and Caramusalls that carried passengers upon a Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, among whom was one of *Ibraims Sulsana's*, and another of the *Ottoman* race. The *Malteses* having made prize of them, arriv'd afterwards in *Candy* where they found reception and friendly entertainment as was usuall.

Ibrahim the great Turk upon news herof storm'd mightily, and rag'd so far that he vow'd a revenge; Therupon he sent for the Christian Ambassadors that resided at that time in the *Port*, relating unto them by the mouth of his Visier what affronts he had receiv'd of the *Malteses*, and that he wold peck that little scabb of an Island into the bottom of the Sea, disguising his displeasure all the while he bore against the *Venetians*, who was more in his thoughts; so a great Fleet was provided against *Malta* as was given out, though his aym was against *Candy*; *Sr. Sackville Crow* then Ambassador in *Constantinople* for the King of great Britain, had such choice intelligence that he acquainted the *Venetian Bailio* herof, and writ also to the late Earl of *Arundell* who was then in *Padua* to give advice herof to the Senat, that the Turk arm'd for *Candy*: but the Senat having no notice therof from their own *Bailio*

made no account of the intelligence, wherein the World adjudg'd *Venice* to com far short of her wonted circumpection. For that Sommer the *Turks* with a formidable Fleet and Land-Army did in a maner surprize *Canea* the second Port of *Candy*, coming with such a resolution as if they came to meet a Victory and not expect one; The newes herof being brought to *Ibraim* it puff'd him up very much, though he was over-heard to mutter, That if he overcame so often he should lose all at last; for above 50000 *Turks*, wherof the third part were *FaniZaries*, perish'd in that expedition. The next Sommer the Bassa of *Bosnia* tumbled into *Dalmatia* with a great land-Army, but he was repell'd with much vigor, so that in regard he did no exploit, he was sent for to *Constantinople*, wher *Ibraim* caus'd him to be strangled.

The Republic being now sadly engag'd in a War against so potent an enemy, betook Her-self to Her Prayers more fervently, making a vow to build a Chappell to Saint *Lorenzo*, a holy man, who had liv'd about 400 yeers since in *Venice*, which She perform'd with much magnificence.

The next Sommer She had notable successe against the *Turk* in *Dalmatia* in divers places, and made Her-self Mistresse of *Cliffa* a place of mighty strength, and much consequence; being frontire twixt *Bosnia* and *Dalmatia*; The Baron of *Dagensfelz* was employed by the Republic in *Dalmatia*, but in this expedition of *Cliffa* Generall *Foscolo*, Count *Schotto*, and Proveditor *Georgio* were chief; *Mehemet Bei* Sangiac of *Cliffa* after the Articles of rendition were concluded, was to send four Hostages whereof *Filippovich* was chief, who after fled away, wherupon the Sangiac himself stood for him and sent a Letter of this humble tenor to *Foscolo*.

TO the most mercifull, and preordain'd by God to all good fortune, the most excellent Lord Generall of the Venetians, the most humble reverence of Master *Mehemet Bei* Sangiac of *Cliffa*. After that we had tasted of your Excellencies grace, and concluded the Trety, *Filippovich* hath betray'd us, whose face ought for ever to freeze with shame, but his base flight hath not only stain'd his own honor, but it hath also don us much wrong; if you think that I had any hand in his escape, I stand to your mercy, for we are all in your hands, and I will be responsible for the fugitif. I attend your answer, and God exalts you to higher honors.

At the taking of this Town the Christian Soldiers were so fesh'd in bloud, and heated for losses they had formerly receav'd, for a great many of the *Morlacchi* perish'd in the action, that the Generall could not hold them within the bounds of obedience, but they fell furiously upon the *Turks* after they had entred the Town, and hack'd them to peeces, notwithstanding the Articles to the contrary. Generall *Foscolo* being got into the Town planted the *Venetian* Standard in the Market place, and then kneeling upon the *Turkish* Banners, he heard Masse sayd by the Archbishop of *Scutari*, and afterwards *Te Deum* was solemnly Sung, and so lowd that the very Heavens ecchoed

ecchoed with the sound. 700 *FaniZaries* were slain and above 300 wounded in this siege, and about 200 Christians.

There was a great debate in the Senat at *Venice* touching *Cliffa*, whether she should still stand or be demolish'd, they who perswaded a demolition us'd these arguments. *That Cliffa though never so famous and well fortified yet was she known to be expugnable, insomuch that the Turk might recover her by the same meanes as the Venetian got her; That Ibraim finding his greasnes to be eclips'd hereby, wold venture all his forces to regain her; Or that happily the Turkish Army might leave her behind and march on to Spalato or Tragurio, and so cut off all succors from her; That in case a peace ensued, Cliffa must be rendred, therefore to bestow any money to fortifie Her was superfluous; The Venetian trespure should be employ'd to strengthen her own Forts, and not the enemies; lastly, that it stood more with the prudence of the Republic to conserve rather than conquer.*

They of the contrary opinion alleg'd that *Cliffa* was allwayes esteem'd a thing inexpugnable for her situation, as also for the valour of the puissant State that now holds her; that she hath repell'd in former times an Army of 20000 Combatants, that she stood very conveniently to stave off the Turk from rushing into Dalmatia; Moreover it wold tend to the dishonor of the Republic to raze *Cliffa*, in regard the World will judg that she did it for want of strength or courage to preserve her; That *Venice* was us'd to shew her power not only upon the ruines, but also within the fortifications of the enemy; That the keeping of *Cliffa* will render a peace more easy; That the Soldiers wold lose the comfort they use to receive in a conquer'd place, &c.

This second opinion prevayl'd, therefore Monsieur d'Amur with other Engineers were presently sent to fortifie the Town of *Cliffa* according to the modern Rules.

As by Land, so by Sea also the Republic bore up stoutly and successfully against her formidable Foe this yeer, for meeting with a great Fleet of Turkish Gallies and Mahoons in the *Egean* Sea, she chas'd them into the Bay of *Foggia* (*Phocis* of old) where som English Ships, and a Scottish Vessell did her som signall service; for the Turkish Fleet having fled into the bottom of the Bay, the *FaniZaries* ran ashore, insomuch that the Captain *Aga* set out a Proclamation, wherein he promised such a reward for any that wold bring the Head of a dead *FaniZary*, or his living Body: Had the *Venetian* Fleet poursued the *Turks* into the bottom of the Bay, in all probability they might have don the *Turks* much mischief at this conjuncture of time; but it seems the Generalls Comission extended not so far, and *Venice* loves to have her Comissions punctually observ'd. The Sommer following the Republic did hold the great *Turks* Nose so close to the Grindstone, that his Gallies durst not peep out of the *Dardanelli* into the *Egean* Sea; yet hath he powr'd new forces since into *Canea* by the Gallies of *Rhodes*, *Sio*, *Cyprus* and *Negrepont*.

This War hath bin very expencefull to *S. Mark*, and drain'd much both of his Trespure and Arsenall, the one of Money, the other of Ammunition; But the Trespure and Arsenall of *Venice* may be sayed to be like the Sea (wherin they stand) who notwithstanding the perpetu-
all

all emission of Waters, yet no diminution is discern'd in him, besides if he lose one way, he gets another way, This potent Enemy hath put the Republic to extraordinary ways of raising Money by Lotteries, sale of Honors and Offices, by revokement & pardoning of *Banditi*, &c. Inſomuch that though her Bank hath been ſhut for a while, 'tis now open again, ajuſted and regulated and of as high repute as ever. *Genoa* her Siſter Republic, and old Emulatix wold furniſh her with Money and ten Auxiliary Gallies if ſhe wold ſtoop to treat Her in equality with Her-ſelf, by the name of *Sereniſſima*, which 'tis thought ſhe will do in theſe preſſures, for he is a cheap friend that's got by a complement.

Besides, the Jeſuits offer Her a vaſt ſum of Money of late to be readmitted, to which end the King of *Polands* Brother, who is of the Society himſelf, is lately ſent to negotiat with her, but they write that he hath but a cold employment of it.

Thus have we drawn at length the Hiſtory of *Venice* in the ſmalleſt thread we could and freeſt from thrumbs, the Author being a profeſſ'd enemy to ſuperfluities, and immatériall circumſtances; We will now proceed to diſplay ſom other ſingularities, for the white at which we aym in this peece, is to make the Reader thoroughly acquainted with this Mayden Republic.

A Discours of the Interests of the Republic of
VENICE, with the rest of the States of *Italie*.

HAVING bin a Guest so long to this hospitable *Majesty* (the
Cittie of *Venice*) and traversed Her Territories up and
down, it will not be amisse to give a short visit to some
of her *Italian* Neighbours, and look a little upon their
differing ayms of policy, as they relate to other States,
specially to the Monarchies of *Spain* and *France*, which
may be termed the two great Axletrees, wheron the power of this part of
the World doth turn.

THe *Pope* being a mighty *temporall* Prince as well as *spirituall*, and ha-
ving a great stroke in most of the Courts and Councells of *Christen-*
dom, in regard of the authority he is allowd to have over the Consciences
and Soules of men, is first to be considered; He knowing that other
Princes cannot gain much of him, and that first or last they must cast
up what they have taken from him, takes not much care, nor useth to
be at any great charge to fortifie his Frontiers; His power is safest by
keeping the power of other Princes in their due proportion, and that it
may not out-balance, to which end he hath often changed his cours of
policy, and crossd the designs of the King of *Spain*, (though covertly)
fearing that if he should swell too bigg he might be brought at last to be
but his *Chaplain*; he hath also dealt so with *France* more than once.

Alexander the 6. who opposed the first ambitious motions of the
French, was one of the chiefest instruments that fram'd and somented
the *Ligue*, driving back again the other side the Hills *Charles* the 8. re-
storing the *Aragonians* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, following herein the
tru interest of the Apostolic See, not to permit any power to grow over-
great, yet afterward he betook himself again to the friendship of the
French, making a Bridg for *Lewis* the 12. to invade the Kingdom of
Naples, and the Duchy of *Milan*, hoping by the same Forces to re-
presse the contumacie of the *Ficarii della Romagna*, and della *Marca*, and
out of their ruines to erect a *Colosse* for the future greatnes of *Cesar*
Borgia.

Julius the second favoured at first the designs of the French King,
and putting all *Italie* in a flame he suscitared all the Princes of *Chri-*
stendom against the Venetian; but summoning his second thoughts to
councell, and foreseeing that upon the depression of the Republic of *Ve-*
nice he might be brought to depend upon the power of Forreiners, he
turnd his armes against the French, and drove them out of *Italie*, together

with the Swisse, and the Spaniards. *Leo* the 10. being passionat for the advancement of his Family was sometimes a Partisan with *France*, sometimes with *Spain* as his interests directed him. At first he sided with *Francis* the first, but afterwards he did confederat with *Charles* the 5. and employed the armies of the Church to chase away the French out of *Milan*. *Clement* the 7. having labourd in vain to make a truce of 5. yeers twixt *Charles* and *Francis*, and perceaving at last that the latter of the two was the stronger in *Italie*, he drew his own misfortune upon himself, by the sack of *Rome*, and imprisonment of his person; so that he was forc'd afterwards to comply with the ambition of *Charles* to exalt his Nephews. *Paul* the 3. kept awhile that spirit of indifferency, and freedom, which the Pope shold professe towards all; yet to rear up the grandeur of the *Farneses*, he covertly favord and fomented the designs of *Charles* the Emperour to remove those obstacles which lay in the way twixt *D. Ferris Luigi* and a Principality. *Julius* the 3. to cast Duke *Alessandro* out of *Parma* being already declar'd contrarious to the Church, and to settle therein *John Baptista de Monto* his Nephew, sufferd himself to be hurld into a warr against *France*, but being weary of the excessive charge therof, and in despair of any good to be don, he returnd to his former indifferency: But *Paul* the 4. being too indulgent of his affections towards his Nephews, permitted himself to be transported upon vain hopes to an open warr with the King of *Spain*, procuring to this effect, that the truce did break twixt the two Crownes; In which enterprize the successe did not answer his expectation, for had it not bin for the piety, and prudence of the Duke of *Salva* he had bin utterly ruin'd; for ther wanted very little that *Rome* had not felt the same Catastrophe that happend in the time of *Clement* the 7.

The Civil Warrs of *France* then beginning to rage, and consequently that wonted power being taken away which usd to serve for a counterpoise to the greatnes of *Spain*, She grew thereby to a greater height, and became Arbitresse of the affaires of *Italie*, in so much that the succeeding Bishoppes had no opportunity offerd them to declare themselves Partisans of the French, although som sparkles of these affections did break out sometimes; So that for their own interests, and by the cunning conduct of the Spaniard, som of them by degrees came to be Dependents wholly upon that Crown; And the Spaniard finding that their greatnes in *Italie* could not receive a sounder establishment, or shrewder shakings and shocks than by the friendship or enmitie with the Pope, He hath ever since essayed all kind of wayes to engage that Court unto him; And when he waged any warr, though the merit of the cause was meer civil, yet he gave out twas for Religion, wherby he still engagd *Rome* to be his Partisan, as he did against the Germans, and English, and in favor of the Gaysards. Nor was he short-handed in distributing his gifts up and down, with collation of honors upon their Nephews, and other of their Favorites, wherof he hath plenty in *Naples* and *Calabria*, which he enjoyes by paying a Heriot evry yeer: Nor is ther any Prince that's tied in more observances to the Pope than the King of *Spain*, in regard that he payes him homage for most of his Kingdomes; nor is the Pope of late

late yeers tied for more variety of respects to any Prince than to the *Spaniard*; He complies also with the Colledg of Cardinalls, endeavouring mainly to have a strong party there to out poise the *French*; though in the election of *Urban* the eighth, the last Pope, his power sayld him among them; which Pope was *Fleurdeliz'd* all over having bin rayld by the *French* faction that then was predominant in the *conclaves*; which made this pasquill among others, to be scatterd up and down, *cur Petrus negat Dominum? quia Gallus cantat.* Nor was *Urban* the eighth averse only to the *Spaniard*, but to the whole house of *Austria*, in so much that when the Emperour sent to sollicit him for a sum of money to support the War against the *Swed*, and the Northern people that had hurld themselves into the Territories of the Empire, he wold not part with a peny of *S. Peters* patrimony to that use; which made the *Spanish* Souldiers up and down the streets to call him *Lutherano*; And others to give out that ther was secret intelligence twixt Him and the King of *Sweden*, that when he had don his work in *Germany*, he wold assist him to recover his right to the Kingdom of *Naples*; but indeed his aversnes to the Emperour was, because a little before he had disturbd the common peace of *Italy*, about the quarrell with the Duke of *Savoy*. This present Pope *Innocent* the tenth is as much an *Austrian*, as the other was a *Bourbonian* which hath not a little advantagd the *Spaniard* as it hath appeard by som successes since his creation; He is more *Catholic* than *Christian*, whereas his Predecessor was *vice versa*.

TOUCHING the interests and disposition of the Dukes of *Toscany*, in regard they were first introduc'd and establisht in that Dutchy by the Armes of the house of *Austria*, they hold their chiefest interest to be a dependency upon that House, adhering allwayes to that party with money & Armes; yet this tie was not so strong but it slackned sometimes, when public liberty was at the stake; wisely considering that the oppression of their neighbours wold not exempt them, but reserve them for a more certain ruin. Whereupon *Cosmo* the first stuck not to assist the *Genoways* in a quarrell that was abetted by the Crown of *Spain*; And after him Duke *Ferdinand* with great sums of moneys assisted *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth of *France*, perswading the latter to break with *Savoy*, that by possession of the Marchifat of *Salucces*, *France* might alwayes have a gate open to *Italy*; And *Cosmo* the second to the same purpose supported the Duke of *Mantona* against him of *Savoy*; But this present Duke *Ferdinand* although he makes shew to breath nothing els than a kind of religious observance to the *Austrian* Family, yet he hath utterly refusd at present to engage against *France*, whereupon in policy he disarmd those Gallies wherewith he was usd formerly to scowr some of the *Mediterranean* and *Greek* Seas, to prevent that neither Kings shold desire his assistance.

TOUCHING the interests of the Republic of *Genoa*, since by meanes of *Andrew Doria* She drew her neck out of the *French* yoke, and put Her self under the protection of *Spain*, She hath still mingled interests with that Crown; *Charles* the first finding that the Citty of *Genoa* stood

very commodiously for him to convey his forces to *Italy*, solicited often *Andrew Doria* to consent to the erecting of a fortresse, which, notwithstanding that he was movd thereunto by the Emperour both with menaces and money, he wold never agree unto; whereupon the Emperour thought upon another new and more ingenious way to engage that City, by putting a bridle of Gold into her mouth instead of that Iron one he thought of at first; for ever since *Genoa* serves *Spain* for a scale to convey her treasure to high and low *Germany*, whereby her bank of *S. George* hath so swell'd, and the whole City hath so enriched her self that it is wonderfull; for it may be sayed that most of the *Indian* Gold hath pass'd ever since through their fingers, so that much thereof must needs stick unto them, by the use the *Spaniard* gives them when they advance any sum by way of *asiento* as they call it, untill his fleets com from the *Indies*; So that they have a saying in *Spain* that the *Genoways* did use to carry their consciences in thin Pockets, but the weight of the *Indian* Gold hath broken thorough, so that now ther is neither bottom or bounds left in them.

Now, ther is no state in *Italy* that's more capable to incommode the *Spaniard*, than that of *Genova*, and to put him in a hazard to lose *Milan*, and consequently the other territories he enjoyes in *Italy*, which She may do if She denies Him her ports, and hinder the landing of his Ships upon her coasts, or by shutting the passages in that long list of Land which is call'd the River of *Genoa*; Therefore the *Spaniard*, because he wold not depend soly upon the affection of that City, ray-sed up a Fort at *Monaco*, and another at *Finale*, thereby, if it were possible, to reduce the Republic to an entire dependence upon Him; In the last War with *Savoy* the *Genoways* felt the benefit of the *Spaniards* protection, which by way of diversion preservd them from much danger. Therefore in point of interest *Genoa* may be sayed to be an inseparable confederat of the King of *Spaines* both for profit and preservation, She is in relation to him like a Partridge under a Faulcons wings, as the little Republic of *Luca* is to the Duke of *Florence*, who can seize upon her when he list, but that he finds it more advantageous unto him to permit Her to continu an industrious Republic still of Her self.

TOUCHING the Dukes of *Savoy*, their interest hath bin allwayes to keep good intelligence with *France*, therfore they never swervd from Her friendship, but once in the time of *Charles* the fifth, when by the inducements of a *Portuguez* Wife, *Charles Emanuel* refusd passage to the *French* King, which cost him afterwards very deare; And it had cost him much more, unlesse he had comported himself with extraordinary cunning and artifice, which made Him to be term'd the little Fox of the Mountaines.

THE Dukes of *Mantoua*, as the rest of the Minor Princes of *Italy*, were usd to professe a totall dependence upon the house of *Austria*; yet Duke *Ferdinand* a wise Prince, knowing that in the first motions of *Monferrat*, the designes of *Savoy* were fomented by Offices underhand from

from the Spaniard for his own advantage, he chose rather to defend himself from Savoy without the Spaniards help: but D. Carlo succeeding he was forced to adhere to the King of France for his safety, in regard of divers Garrisons, he had up and down Monferrat.

THE Dukes of Parma, though thrust out of Piacenza by Charles the 5. and having bin beaten by him in Parma, they had good reason to follow the interests of France, by whom they had receivd both their conservation and reestablishment, more than once, yet they thought safer still to stick unto Him that was Duke of Milan, till now of late that this present Duke is much Frenchified.

TOUCHING the politicall interests, and inclinations of the Duke of Modena, and the State of Luca, they have more confidence in the House of Austria than in the French, and so they apply themselves accordingly in point of respect and compliances: Nor indeed can it be denied but all Italie is beholding to the Spaniard in divers respects, as for the introducing of Treasure, and increse of Trade; as also that his outpoising power keeps the inferior Princes in peace, and from encroching one upon the other, lest it he should strike in by way of Auxiliary, he might swallow up both parties; yet, it may be observd, that the Italians respect the Spaniard out of meer politicall interest, not out of any affection; so that all of them would restrain his power if they could, but like the Mice in the Fable, they cannot find any that will venture first to hang the Bell about the Cat's neck.

HAVING by these short expatiations given a few touches of the rest of the Principalities of Italy in point of politicall interests, we now return to pursue and perfect the survey of the Signorie of Venice in this particular also; which, taking her power by Land and Sea conjunctly, is acknowledged to be the strongest knot of strength in Italie, if we consider the reaches of her Dominions, with the firmenes and solidity of her establishment, as also the prudent and cautious conduct of her proceedings.

Now touching her interests, and disposition towards the two great Kings forementiond, all her counsells and designs, ever since the entrance of forren Armies into Italie, have tended to conserve her own liberty and greatnes: It being an old observation, that all States do retain still the humor of their first Founders; as ambition, and desire of warr appeerd allwayes in the City of Rome, because her first Founders were full of that humor; But those of Venice being not transported with such exorbitant thoughts, but addicted to peace, trafic, wealth and repose, having bin formerly harassd by the long calamities of Italie, and the inundation of barbarous peeple, when they had gott into those safe retirements, the first and fundamentall maxime of policy they proposd to themselves, was to maintain their common freedom, and live secure. And herein the Republic of Venice may be sayed to differ from the late States of Holland also, whose first foundation was layed in bloud by Armes and

Warr; Now it is a Rule that *Eodem modo, Res conservatur, quo acquiritur*; By the same meanes things are conservd wherby they are gott; In so much that if *Holland* follow the humors of her first Founders, She will love warr better than peace, and happily be incited therunto by an old prophecy that runns of her;

Marte triumphabis, Batavia, pace peribis.

Holland, by warr Thou shalt encrease,
Thou wilt destroy Thy self by peace.

Now, one of the wayes wherby the Republic of *Venice* hath endeavourd to preserve her Maydenhead and freedom so long, hath bin to keep the power of the potentst Princes in a counterpoise; wherby She hath often adapted her designs, and accommoded Her-self to the condition of the times, and frequently changd thoughts, will, friends, and enemies; She hath bin allwayes usd to suspect any great power, to fear much, and confide little, to be perpetually vigilant of the operations of others, and accordingly to regulat her own consultations and proceedings; wherby She hath bin often accusd of exces in circumspection.

Therefore when that impetuous shock was given *Italie* by *Charles* the 8. She only lookd on a good while, and kept Her self Neutrall; but afterwards seeing the common freedom of *Italie* floting among the French armes, She made head against them at last, freeing *Milan* from that imminent danger which hoverd visibly ore her head, and so forced that King to find his way back ore the Alps, and to leave the Kingdom of *Naples* to the *Aragonians*; To free Her-self from the stratagems of *Moro*, and to joya *Cremona* to her Republic, She savoured the designs of *Lewis* the 12. upon the State of *Milan*; But this conjunction was like that with the Lion, who useth to snatch all to himself; For *Lewis* afterwards to thrust *Venice* out of *Cremona* collegud himself with divers other Princes, inciting them to invade Her Territories on firm Land; In so much that he introduc'd the Pope, the Spaniard, and King of the Romanes, but while they thought to rush into the Venetian Territory, they were cunningly excluded by the Spaniards their Confederatts, who gathering the fruit of other mens labours impatronizd himself of som Townes, to recover which the Venetians betook themselves to the frendship of *Francis* the French King, by which League they recoverd what formerly had bin taken from them. But afterwards finding that the French for their disorders had lost the Duchy of *Milan*, and that by continuing that League they exposd to som hazard their own liberty; the Republic with fortune changd Her friend, and entred into League with *Charles* the Emperour: But upon that monstrous successe of fortune in *Pavia* when the French King was taken Prisoner, to preserve the common liberty of *Italie* which was like to be swallowed up by the Emperour, She re-entred into a new League with *Francis* not without extreme hazard, because in the peace of *Cambrai* he had quite abandond Her, so She was left alone to wrastle with the Emperour and the formidable Armies he had then afoot, against whom She bore up with much generosity a good while, wherby together with the peace of *Bologna* She procurd the restitution
of

of *Francesco Sforza* to the Duchy of *Milan*; An accord which She observd with such candor and punctuality that although She was invited by many favourable conjunctures to unite again upon high advantageous termes with the Crown of *France*, to thrust the *Spaniards* out of *Milan*, whereof they had rendered themselves Masters after the death of *Francis Sforza*, yet she would never lend any care therunto, merely out of her filial affection to *Italy*, that she might not be plingd again in new troubles; as also finding how unlucky the *French* had often bin that side the *Alpes*; so that ever since the peace of *Bologna*, which was in the year 1530. ther never happend any open War twixt *Spain* and *Venice*. Ever since, the Republic perceaving that the Popes were often transported with their own interests, and that other Princes were either their dependents, or their forces weak, the Republic of *Venice* hath stood as it were in perpetual centinell to watch the common freedom of *Italy*, whereby She hath much incurd the hate of the *Spaniard*, who seemd to stomach it much that *Venice* should so stand in counterpoise with him; Thereupon because he could do no good by open force, he went another way to work to do her a displeasure, which was by erecting fish Fortresses in the *Vastoline* to impede all supplies that might come that way unto Her upon occasion. The Republic finding that the *Spanish* Ministers aynd at nothing more than to depreass her strength, and so make themselves masters of all *Italy* in time, she studied to find meanes by innuoy, and counsell to divert the strength of the *Spaniard*, and cutt hith out som work another way out of *Italy*, imitating herein the *Faulkner* who standing himself in repose and firm upon the Earth, lets fly *Goshawks*, and *Faucons* at the Birds of the Air.

And although *Venice* appeerd for the support of *Monten*, yet this was don so cunningly, that it did nothing prejudice her Peace with *Spain*, or obligd Her to second *France* in that busines, though She was much courted thereunto by *Belieure*, and other great Ministers to engage. So that although in former times She hath bin often constrained to play fast and loose twixt *Spain* and *France*, yet this last century She hath kept her self alwayes in a politique neutrality.

Since the principall aym of this peece is to make the industrious Reader fully acquainted with this *Mayden* Republic, therefore we thought it worth the labour, to insert here the opinions of the most approved and authentique Writers, (that have exposed to the World any thing of politicall governments) and a collation of their judgements; with the variety of expressions may conduce much to instruct the Reader, and perfect his knowledge of this famous Signorie.

Bodin de Republica Lib. II.

Montesquieu thinks the same judgement to be pass'd upon the *Venetian* Republic, which he thinks may agree with all the three kinds of Governments; *Est, inquit, in Duce Regia quodammodo potestas, in Senatu, Aristocratia; In Concilio Maximo, Democratia.* Ther is sayeth he, a kind

kind of *Regal power* in the Duke, an *Aristocracy* in the Senat, And a *Democracy* in the great Councell. But *Fanotus* who hath described the state of that Common-wealth from her first originalls, and written most accuratly of her secreties of Government convinceth *Contarenum*, and accuseth him of grosse errors; He demonstrates therefore that before *Sebastiano Cyani* who was Doge of *Venice*, which is about 300 years since, the Republic then was plainly a Monarchicall Government. *Contarenum* avers, that She hath remaind about 800 years in the very same conditior She is now in; *Paulus Magufinus* speaks of 1200 years, which *Fanotus* proves to be false out of the public Acts, and the History of the Times.

Howsoever it be, It is most evident that, in *statu quo nunc* the Republic of *Venice* is a pure *Aristocracy*. For by the description of the City and the cense that was made of the Inhabitants 30 years since, ther were about 60000. Citizens excepting Women, and Children that had not exceeded seven years of Age; as also the *Patricians* in whom the power of the Republic is seated, whose number may amount to 4000. All kind of Churchmen are exempted out of this number, and young men under five and twenty, who have no accesse either to the great Councell, or the administration of any Office, unlesse upon request made by their *Seniors* the same be obtaind; Nor is ther in the Assembly of the great Councell, which hath bin so long established both in our Ancestors, and late Progehirors times, more than 1500, but in former times ther were much fewer as appeers among the Historians; This Convention therefore of the *Patricians*, Gentry or Nobility hath the supreme power over all Lawes and Magistrats, of Peace and War, of last appeales, of life and death as *Contarenum* himself confesseth. Which being so who can doubt but this Republic is a pure *Aristocracy*? For if the better sort of men had nothing els but the power of the Law and Magistracy, it were argument enough to judg that it is an *Optimacy* as we taught before; since that the election of Magistrats, of the Senat, of the Colleges, of the *Septemviri*, of the *Decemviri*, of the forty privat, and so many public Judges criminal and civil, depends meerly upon the grand councell of the Nobility or Gentry, and the rest meere precarian powers.

The Duke is He, who being a Soverain Governor may be sayed only to want comand, for he can neither summon any one before him, or apprehend any by his sole comand, or demand any, nor hath He more power in any Colledg of Senators, whether great or small but only that he gives the last suffrage; nor can He open any Letters either from forren Princes, or any Magistrat, or Officer, nor admit or dismisse any Ambassadors without som of the Colledg of the *Septemvirat*, or *Decemvirat*; nor can He marry a stranger, or go out of the City of *Venice* without leave. Duke *Falerio*, because he married a Lady that was born out of the Dominions of the Republic without the consent of the Senat, was by the *Decemviri* Councell sentenced to death, and executed; besides Him *Sabellicus* enumerats twelve Dukes that either were slain in a popular tumult, or punished when they abused their power.

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The same Author in his 3. Book writes thus:

BUT the Senator must take this for a principall caution, that he suffer not himself to be depravd by any bribes, or engagd by any benefitt; which although it be capitall there, yet is it ordinary elsewhere in other States, and except the Signorie of *Venice* who hath a Senat so free and pure from this kind of fordidnes, that the very Churchmen although they be Citizens and Patricians born are restrained therfore from their civill Councells, because they are known to be sworn to act not any thing against the profitts, and interest of the Roman Bishop; That cry is well known to all the world, that before all suffrages this acclamation useth to be in the great Councell, *Fuora I preti*, insomuch that *Hermolao Barbaro* (and what a man was He?) receavd the sentence of banishment, because while Ambassador in *Rome* he suffered himself to be coopted into the Colledg of Cardinalls without the consent of the Senat.

Fac. Aug. Thuanus Lib. 23.

THE Venetian Senat, which may be truly calld the Shopp of all civil prudence, hath it for a speciall Caveat, That none initiated in Holy Orders shold touch any part of the Republic.

The same in his 27. Book.

THER's no Prince in all *Italie* except the Venetian Republic, in the conciliation of whose frendship the King ought to labour much, for by Her Lawes it is severely prohibited, that none of Her Subjects receive any pension from a forren Prince.

Cardinall Arnoldus Offat in his 353. Epistle.

THE Venetians to speak truly have no more devotion than needs; yet they manage their affaires with as much prudence and gravity as any other Prince; you remember without doubt, how after the death of the last King, they presently acknowledged this present King (*viz. Henry the 4.*) and how they respected our Ambassador as formerly, yet they would not admitt him to com with the other Ambassadors to the Chappell, till the King was reconcild to the Church of *Rome*; This they did because the Pope, with the King of *Spain*, and all the world might bear wittnes, that, howsoever what they did for politicall reasons, yet they were exact observers of the Catholic Religion.

Interdicti Veneti Histor. Lib. 1.

THE Republic of *Venice* excludes all Ecclesiastiques from the participation of Her government, and only She neither gives or takes any pensions from the Court of *Rome*.

Paulus Paruta in Histor. Venet. Lib. 4.

Our Progenitors took singular care that the Cittizens of *Venice* should employ their industry to navigation and maritime negotiation for the encrease and improvement of public and privat wealth, and that the Venetian name might be propagated to remote and outlandish Nations; The situation of the Cittie seemes to invite Her to such studies and exercises, and to infuse such a propensity into the minds of Her Inhabitants; In regard that the Cittie having not of Her-self any Lands to cultivate, which might answer their industry, and make them rich, and being destitute of all things els that are necessary for humane subsistence, necessity her self did excite them to naval industry, and to furrow the Sea, which fills her with abundance, and affluence of all things conducing to a being, and well-being; This made Her employ hundreds of Shippes and Gallies abroad into forren Countreys, as well to Christian Regions, as to Infidells, and bring back rich commodities of all sorts, not only for Her own occasions, but to exercise comerce and exchange comodities with Her neighbours farr and neer to Her unspeakable advantage: In these Gallies many young men of the Gentry and Patrician Order do use to imbarke themselves, as well for marchandizing, as to gain experience up and down the world, specially in the Art of Navigation; Many wherof use to sojourn a long time among forren people, and dispatch not only their own affaires, but do favours and negotiat for others: Wherby they attain to a great proportion of knowledg in all things, and being returned and salted as it were in the world, and composd to frugality and modesty, they com to the management of the public affaires of the Commonwealth.

Bodinns de Repub. Lib. 3.

But because no man may think that so many Counsellis should breed a confusion in so well ordred a Republic, he must think that She divides Her Councils into sower principall Classes besides the Senat, ther is the Councell of Sages which is calld the marine Councell; then is ther the Councell of Sages, who have the incumbency of matters by Land; Then is ther a Councell of *Decemvirs*, and *Septemvirs*, wherin the Duke, as in all other Colleges, presides; Which Councils though they be sejoynd in Colleges and Offices, yet when the quality of the affair requires, they all consociat. The Senat is composd of 60. Gentlemen, who with so many more Cittizens have the greatest management of affaires.

Idem ibidem.

WHat we have spoken for matter of taking Counsell, it is no where practis'd better than it is in *Venice*, for when ther is a doubtfull deliberation of things in both the Councils of Sages, they use to expedir
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it conjunctly with the *Decemvirs*; Therefore it is subscrib'd underneath the decree *con la giunta*; but if all this be not sufficient to put a period to the busines in agitation in regard of discrepency of Opinions, the *Septemviri* are consulted; and if this will not serve the turn, for discrepency of censures, the Senat is assembled, where the whole matter is displayed; but if the authority of the Senat will not suffice, but ther will be still dissentient suffrages, then it is finally determin'd by the Great Councill.

Idem Lib. 5.

THE *Venetians* restrain Dowries by a specall Law, *viz.* that the Portion of a *Patrician* Damsell, or Gentlewoman be but 1600. Crownes, lest the wealth of illustrious Families be exhausted; but if a Gentleman marry a Plebeian, the dowry is terminated to 2000. Crownes: But they suffer now this Law to be in a maner antiquated, that the poverty of som Gentlemen may be repaid by the dowry of a Wife; But this is prudently observ'd, that they use as much as may be to remove Women from hereditary right, if ther be any Male extant.

Idem Lib. 6.

NOT long since in the year 1566. the *Venetians* created three Magistrats, and endowd them with a Cenforian power, whom they calld a *Triumvirat*, for the Reformation of the manners of the Citizens; commonly calld *I Signori sopra il ben vivere della Citta*; and they were thus entitled because the word *Censor* seemd to grave and severe for a Cittie that was so free from the beginning, and abounding with affluence of all pleasures.

Idem Eodem Lib.

THE *Venetians* do dayly exercise and entertain above 4000. persons in public works, than which nothing can be more profitable to the common people, more commodious to the Citty, and more delightfull to all men; And as they employ so many in public works, so with wonderfull benignity, they distribut part of the public wealth for the relieving and sustentation of the aged and indigent.

Paulus Paruta in Hist. Ven. Lib. 7.

IT hath bin provided by a singular way of circumspection, and for the advantage of the Republic, that Her Ambassadors which She employed abroad upon legations of State to forren Princes, shold not reserve to themselves what is given them by way of gift, but to confer it to the public; but if by particular favour such Ambassadors were permitted to retain such presents, such a grace must passe by the suffrage of the Senat, to oblige them therby more to the benevolence of the Senat, than to the bounty of any forren Prince.

Paulus Fovius Lib. 1.

THe Citty of *Venice* is ample and magnificent, by navall study, and Mercantile Negotiations She grew up from small beginnings, but for Her incredible advantage of situation She is admird, and preferred before all other Citties under the Sun; because that She being girt about with the waters of the interfluent *Hadrian* Sea, and so not exposd to any sudden surprises or assaults, She securely enjoyes Her-self, and Her treasure, hoording it up for times of danger; For ther is no approach to Her by Land, in regard 40. Stades of Sea intercede; nor any advenue by Sea, in regard of the blind and low foords, unknown to strangers, which are round about.

The *Venetians* generally are grave in Counsell, severe in judgement, constant in adversity, and moderat in prosperity; Ther is an unanimous study in them all to conserve the public liberty, and to encrease their Empire; In the Senat they speak with much freedom and oftentimes with much heat and eagernes if the cause require.

Ther is not any of the *Senatorian* Order or others, though he excell the rest never so much in wisdom, spirit or valour, and services performed for the Republic, that is sufferd to grow too high, or by conciliation of popular credit and esteem to becom too powerfull; By which reach of policy and institution, they use in their Wars by Land to employ strangers for their Generall, lest one of their own might be puffd up with pride, and grow too ambitious; They are all grave Gownmen, who have administred this Republic from the beginning, and preservd Her from intestin tumults; But touching maritime affaires, and navall discipline these grave men shake off their togared Habitts, and receive Martiall employment, according to the exigency of the ocasion.

*Some Observations of the Citty and Signorie of Venice,
taken out of Sansovino.*

THe Air of *Venice* is exceeding good, because it is continually purgd with the flux and reflux of the *Adriatic* Sea, which carry away with it every six howers whatsoever is corrupt and noysom, besides the multitude of fires dissolveth all unwholsom vapors, and the free scope of the winds blowing every where without impediment maketh the Air more sound, and vigorous; besides much is attributed to the saltnes which being by its nature more hot and lesse cold engendreth an equall and most sweet temperature, so that strangers with great amazement do not any where behold men more venerable, of greter age, fuller of flesh, streight bodied, of goodly presence, and more vigorous constitution; but above all other things this is most strange, that this Air by a speciall priviledg of Nature doth agree with the complexions of all commers that resort thither of what Nation, or under what climat soever they be born, whether the same be subtile and penetrating, or thick and foggie.

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Round about ther is such an innumerable quantity of all excellent sorts of Fish, that not only the Inhabitants have plenty of Fish taken twice evry day, but they allso furnish the adjoyning Citties upon the Continent, as well those that are under their Dominion as others; The like marvailous abundance they have of wildfoull, so different in kind, and divers in colour, that tis strange to see their various sorts, their variety being such that we have seen 200 severall kinds of them painted most exactly in their naturall hue by *Marino Malispiero*, the most exquisit and ingenious man of his time in that Art.

This Citty above all other is worthy to be admired, as being singular by Her self, and brooking no comparison with any other; For what other Citty soever hath bin either pleasant by situation, or glorious in goodlines of buildings, yet it had som kind of resemblance with others; but only this being seated in the midst of the waters hath not any thing upon Earth to which it may be resembled, the rare position whereof being such, that it injoyeth the comodities of the waters, and the pleasures of the Land, secure by being among the waves from Land assaults, and free by not being founded in the depths of the Sea from Maritim violences; So that whereas other Citties do keep and defend their Citizens with Walls, Towers, and Gates, This being naked and without Ramparts, is not only secure Her-self, but rendereth allso with admirable prudence such Citties secure as do sleep under Her wings. Among many other rare Edifices sumptuous as well in the richnes of the matter, as marvailous for the most singular curiosity of workmanship the Steeple of *S. Mark* is most miraculous, the same being so huge high and stately, that in faire wether it is seen and discern'd by those that sayl from *Istria* 100 miles off; the speciall care and oversight wherof is comitted allwayes to a person of speciall quality, who hath for his allowance 150. Crowns yeerly stipend.

VVE will now descend to som particular customes of this *Mayden* Citty as her maner of marrying, and of the fruits therof Her Christnings. Mariages among the Nobility ar for the most part alwayes treted of by a third person, the Bride being never suffer'd as much as to see her future Husband, nor He Her, untill the mariage dower, and all things therunto appertaining, be fully agreed upon and concluded, which being don, the next morning the Bridegrome goeth to the Court of the Palace, and there the march being publish'd he receaveth well-wishing speeches, and salutations from such of the Nobility as doe enter into the Pallace, and withall inviteth his frends to the house of the Brides Father, to be there at a certain time appointed in the afternoon; At the entry of the dore they are attended by the Bridegroom and his kinred, and brought up to a Hall wher ther are none but men only, and there the Bride is brought forth apparrell'd by an ancient custom all in white, her haire dischevell'd, and hanging about her sholders woven in and out with filletts of Gold; where being betroth'd with many solemn Ceremonies, She is led about the Hall with Flutes, Drums and other instruments, still dancing in a soft me-

sure, then She boweth down to those that salute Her; Having so shew'd Her-self She goeth in & returneth out again, If any men friends do chance to com that had not seen Her before, She comes out and presents Her-self, then She entreth to a *Gondola*, and being attended by divers other She goeth up and down to the Nunneries, specially to those where any of Her Kinred are reclud; Now this shewing of Her-self abroad is to no other end, but in regard of Her Children and sundry other things, it may after happen She may make Her Nuprialls apparant to all: At evry Wedding ther is a Gentleman or two calld *Compari*, that are as it were Masters of the Revells, because their charge is to see unto the Musick, and whatsoever other shewes or pastimes appertain to the Feast, the next Morning their Friends and Kinred present the new Married couple with sundry sorts of Restoratives and sweet Meates.

THe Christnings in *Venice* are somewhat differing from other places, for the Father inviteth not two God-fathers and a God-mother, or two God-mothers and a God-father, but as many as they list, inso-much that somtimes ther have bin above 150 at a Christning, but to the end that this Goshipship shold no way be a bar or impediment among the Gentlewomen in matter of Mariage, it was by a Law ordained, that one Gentleman shold not take another Gentleman for his Goship, whence it cometh that when the Priest powreth the Water on the Childs Head, he first maketh mention of the Law, and then demandeth if ther be among the Goships any one of the *Venetian* Nobility. Nor are ther any Women admitted to the Christning but only the Nurse, who hath the charge of the Child; The next day the Father sends to evry Goship a Marchpane, and evry of them sendeth back som present or other to the Child according to the custom of the Citry; Their greatest magnificence and charge, is at the nativity of the Child, for then they wonderfully exceed not only in the sumptuousnes of their Banquets, but also in rich furniture, and adorning of their houses.

Likewise ther is no place on Earth wher the Funerall of the meaneft Citizen is solemnizd with greater Ceremony and Expence; nor is ther any Countrey wher strangers find better entertainment, and live in greater security.

The Pleasures, Recreations and Pastimes of the Gentlemen are of divers kinds, among the rest they take great delight in Fowling making great matches who can kill most Fowle in a day, turning still the end therof to banqueting and pleasure. They have Boats of purpose calld *Fisolari* so nam'd from *Fisole*, which is the name of the Bird they seek after; In evry of these Boates they have six or eight servants apparell'd in blewish, or greenish garments, suited as nere as they can to the colour of the Water. These row the Boat up and down, turning her suddenly to evry side as they are commanded by their Masters, who sits close with his Peece or Bow wholly intentive upon his sport; If he chance to misse when he shooteth, the *Fisole* divers under water, and where he riseth again thither they turn their Boats with much nimble-

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nes; Divers Boates use to goe to this pastime, which is very chargeable to the Gentlemen; Upon their return they hang the Fowle they have killd out of the Window, as Hunters do upon their Dores the heads of Beares, Bores, Hares, taking it as a great reputation to kill more of these in a day than their fellowes can.

The Dukes of *Venice* have by ancient priviledges confirmed by sundry Emperours, authority to create Erles and Knights, and likewise Poets Laureat, with either of which dignities the Prince of *Venice* doth use to honor and reward persons of merit and vertu.

The Dukes have oftentimes matchd in the greatest and royallest Houses of Christendom, which alliances with forren Princes growing suspected to the Commonwealth, ther was a Law made in the year 1327. that the Duke might not marry the Daughter of any Stranger, though by priviledg and adoption he had obtained the right and title of a Venetian Gentleman; And in the year 1383. it was ordaind that he shold not marry the Daughter, Sister or Kinswoman of any forren Prince, without the licence and consent of the great Councell.

The Dukes of *Venice* were wont in times passd to honor themselves with high and Princely titles, as calling themselves *Dukes of Venice*, *Dalmatia and Croatia*, *Lords of a half part*, and *a quarter of the whole Roman Empire*, &c. which vanity of titles was taken away in the year 1360. and utterly prohibited, and this title only allowd, *J. D. By the grace of God Duke of Venice*, &c. The common coin is stampd with the inscription of the Dukes name then in being, but it is against the Law that any Duke shold ingrave, imborder or paint his peculiar Coat of Armes in any Ensignes, Banners, Gallies, Seats of Justice, or public places of honor, but only within the Precincts of the Palace. Yet is He buried with all the Princely magnificence that may be: Being dead, His Bowells are taken out, and His Body embalmd, after which He is kept divers daies openly in the Hall attended by the Senators (as sayed before) His Herse being coverd over with a large Cloth of rich Gold, and his Sword and Spurres lying arthwart of the Herse; He is wayted on to His Grave by all the Fraternities of the Cittie, and the Churchmen with an innumerable company of Torches; Next follow the Officers and chief Servants of the Dukes Familie all apparrelld in black, with Hoods ore their heads, and a long train; Next them com the Senators all in Scarlett and grain, signifying the Cittie of *Venice* to be ever free, therfore ought not to mourn at the death of any Prince how virtuous soever: With this pomp they passe to Saint Marks Place, where the Beer is lifted up on high nine times that evry one might take his perpetuall farewell of Him; Then is He carried to the Church, and a solemn Funerall Oration is made for Him; then the Senators return to the Palace, and presently proceed to the Election of a new Duke, which they cannot do by the ancient constitution till the other be first under ground; and so *Corruptio unius, est generatio alterius*.

Privat

*Privat Instructions given to Cardinall F.
when he was sent Nuntio to Venice.*

IT being the main designe of this Discours to make the Reader perfectly acquainted with this *Mayden* Republic, it will not be amisse to insert here the Instructions that were given by Pope *Gregory* to his Nuntio, when he was employd upon an extraordinary Legation to the Signorie of *Venice*; for it will conduce much to understand the stile of the Signorie, and compliances that must be usd in that Court.

THe first Discours your Excellency shall hold with the Prince and Signorie of *Venice* shall ayme at two ends; The one, to expose unto his *Serenity* the plesure of his Holines, therein declaring the occasion and ayms of your Legation; The other, to expresse the particular affections you bear to that most excellent Signorie.

Touching the first, it shall suffice that you follow the tenor and substance of your Commission, having a speciall charge not to recede from it in any materiall point.

Touching the second, it is referrd chiefly to your own election and judgment what to deliver, for endearing your self to the Duke, and Senators.

And in generall you may say that what employment soever his Holines had cast upon you, you had esteemd it a high favor, being entirely addicted to Him, and the Holy Seat; But that you were far more obligd to his Holines, that He vouchsafd to employ you to his *Serenity*, and that most illustrious Republic, because you had a long desire to renew the memory of that servitude, and high affections which the Arch-Bishop your Oncle had vowd to the Signorie, to whom both your parentage and person will be ever well affected; Besides, you held it a great honor that you had to negotiat with a Prince so full of Majesty, and Grandeur, being the Head of the greatest, the most flourishing, and best orderd Commonwealth in the world; In so much that after the service of his *Sanctitie*, you will preferr that of his *Serenity* before all other, and that you will be ever ready to make it good in effect, as well as in affection, and turn your words to actions, and that you stand there most ready to give proof therof; Moreover, that the bent of your endeavors, and study will be to preserve, and improve the paternall love which his Holines beares towards that most noble Republic; that you love the very name of *Venice*; therefore nothing shall take greater room in your thoughts than to maintain the good intelligence, and union which is, and ought to be betwixt the Popedom and the Republic, in regard that the Princes of both aym at the same object, They have the same wills, and incumbency to conserve the authority of their States; That in order to this you will employ your main strength, with all your spirits, and that you will be so zealous herin as if you were born his Holines vassall, being very loth that your Oncle shold go before you but only in
time

time in point of good will and affection towards that most illustrious Signorie.

Your own prudence shall direct you herin, and how to place your words, that they may be more or lesse moving to gain the amity and confidence of the Lords of the Senat, wherein *gravity* will advantage you much, and it may be, more than any thing els: In this first discours you are to mingle with your best dexterity som honorable mention of the Republicques Ambassador at *Rome*, and what contentment he gives to his holines in all Treaties, and how well he deserves of his Countrey; As also what respect and benevolence all the Prelats of the *Roman* Court do professe unto him; This intimation shall serve you for two ends, for you will therby draw thanks from the Kinred of the sayd Ambassador, and making them your confidants they will further you in all your negotiations; Besides, you will therby oblige the Ambassador himself, who will take occasion to correspond with you in like civilities, therfore you must not sayl to give the sayed Ambassador here a solemn visit, and take conge of him, desiring that he wold comand you in any service to his Kinred and Friends, whither you are going, endeavouring thereby to make the deepest impressions you can upon his soul, That you go to *Venice* with a resolution to serve and honor him and his upon all occurrences, wherof you are to desire him to certify them by Letters, and possesse them before hand in your behalf that they wold love, and favour you with their friendship, you may assure the Ambassador also that you will never propose any thing that may be prejudiciall to any of them. In sum, you are allwayes to preserve the friendship of the Ambassador entire, both by Letters, and other good Offices you shall do to his Friends, and Kinsmen, but not engaging your self to do the like in his behalf to others, for that wold haply turn to a disservice to the Gentleman, and be no advantage to your self.

Som dayes after your first audience you must think what visits to make, and because you need no instruction how to comport your self towards the Prelats, I must give you a speciall caution not to visit the Doge by himself, or speak to him alone; Nor must you visit all sorts of Senators, specially those that be young, for that wold be unseemly; Nor indeed doth any Senator much desire to be visited because it may breed jealousy, and so draw danger upon him; And ther may be two reasons alledg'd why they do not desire to be visited by strangers; The first is the parsimonious and privat lifes they lead; The other, because they have som of their Brothers or Children that are Prelats, so that it wold be a kind of offence to them to visit their Parents, either for the small splendor of their dwellings, or for the simplicity of their maners. Therfore although no exact rule can be given you what persons you are to visit, yet in the Generall, they must be those that for Office or Magistracy live with more Magnificence, and splendor than others having Palaces accordingly, such as are the Procurators of *S. Mark*; nor must these visits be frequent, but only twice a yeer will suffice, or it may be a longer interposition of time, according as custom shall

teach you, although they who com to visit you do it ofner.

When any of the principall Senators shall com to your House to salute you, or treat of any busines, those of your Family must be all ready to receave him at the Gate, and you must meet him upon the staires, but when they depart, you are to bring them to the bottom of the staires, though they reject it never so much: your comportment towards Gentlemen of younger yeers, and lesse dignity shall be regulated by your own judgment, and in such a maner as shall be obliging to them but not undervaluing your self; You must propose this as an universall rule to your self, that if you entreat the Prelats well, and bind them unto you, as I know you will ever tuat your self to do, they may becom instruments of great matters by the meanes of their Parents, although their Parents may not make any shew that you are so affected to them, or they to you: The Prelats being well satisfied by you, will much avayle you, in giving good reports of you at *Rome*.

I must advise your Excellency again that gravity will steed you much, because the *Venetian* Gentlemen make profession thereof, and esteem it above any thing, not as much for apparances only, as for well becoming public Ministers of State; because it is an argument of staydnes, of vertu and prudence. Yet this gravity must not turn to an austerity, or take away that affability, candor and sweetnes which you are to use towards all people, for so you may be esteemed to be fantastick and proud. Therefore you must speak, and treat with such an unaffected gravity that may be sutable to your person: And when you have any thing to do in the Senat, be mindfull of the rank you hold, and of the quality of that Prince whom you represent; yet shewing a great deal of reverence, and presupposing that you are in the presence of a King. All the discours you shall make in the Senat, shall be addressed to the Prince, and although you speak to the whole Colledg, yet you shall allwayes use these words, *Vestra serenità*, or *Serenissimo Principe*.

You must have a speciall care to honor the *Venetian* Gentlemen, according to their Age and Dignity, And you must know that those Gentlemen love to be courred and complimented, specially if they be invested in any Office of Dignity; And honor is the more dear unto them, when it comes from a person of noble Employment and Extraction; Whereas otherwise they will deem it an injury not to be respected, turning such disrespects into disdain and scorn of him that will not give them their due, because the Senators and Patricians of *Venice* have high conceits of themselves for their antiquity, and for their freedom continued so many Ages inviolable.

Besides the difference that ought to be put betwixt old and young, or those that are graduated with offices or not graduated, wherof the first of both are to be the more esteemd, you must also make som distinction betwixt Families. Now, the Families of the *Venetian* Gentry is divided to three ranks, *viz.* to ancient, new, and midling Houses; The ancientst are the most honorable, and esteemd more then others, therefore although you are to respect all Gentlemen in generall, yet you must have

have a speciall regard to put your self in lower postures of reverence towards those ancient families; but you must beware not to doe it in public, so that others take notice therof, but particularly; and in privat discours; So that this distinction of old and new Families must be reservd within your own brest, otherwise the other rank of Nobles will take exception at your partiall behaviour, which may turn to your prejudice.

Among the Prelats of that Nation the *Patriark* is the Prince, and more highly esteemd than any other, as well for his age, as eminency, as also commonly for his parentage, and frends, and that he lives more splendidly and hospitably then any other; And the Senators affoord him in som cases as much respect as they doe to the Colledg of ten when they send to him for his opinion, which yet cannot turn to a suffrage: You must make great account of him therefore, but take heed that this great Prelat doe not overact himself in point of return. I beleve you know well what was negotiated of old at *Rome* in behalf of that *Patriarch*, and how the *Signorie* Her-self recommended him unto the Pope, and thought to purchase him that honor; but seeing him excepted against, She stirrd no further, or made any more instance for any other during the time of that Pope. That Prelat nevertheles ceaseth not to aggrandize himself by recommending his cause to all the *Nuntio's*: Therefore you shall be easily prayed to do som good offices for him about his Holines, it may be, you may receive high answers, and replies, therefore you must carry your self with a great deal of dexterity, and moderation in this busines; But if you undertake to do such an office, the *Signorie* will be ill satisfied, and the refusall he receavd from other *Nuntio's* will serve you for directions what you ought to doe: You must declare to such as shall discourse with you about this Prelat, the high respect you bear unto him, for his singular parts of vertu, and merit, making shew to serve him in all things to the utmost extent of your ability, provided that it be acceptable to the *Signorie*, and herin your answer must be short and strict.

You must not invire any Venetian Gentleman to take a repast with you, specially any Senator; yet in som case one may doe it, and so your invitation will not be unpleasing, but well accepted; This must be don, when any of those Gentlemen chance to negotiat with you about eating time, because that inviting him then, is a signe that you rather comply with the time, then that you doe it out of a reall desire, but this rarely happens. If he who is invited doth not refuse to stay, you must remember that he is a Senator, therefore you must not suffer him to sit beneath the Prelats, but you must place him in the highest Seat, although haply he make resistance; but I beleve you will find but little opposition, in regard that the Prelats themselves will concur with you in this observance; A little after the repast you must rise from the Table, and give this Senator the oportunity for to depart, without detaining him longer, and when he departs you shall accompany him to the bottom of the Staires.

You must refrain to shew your self over curious to know the secrets,
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and pry much into the mysteries of this Republic, for then you may deprive your self of their conversation; therefore you must not seem to make any streight frendship with her Secretaries, yet you must honour them upon all occasions, that it may appeer how much you esteeme them; and for public transactions you may be well assur'd, that they will come home to your doores without the trouble of making any referches after them.

If it happen that you be requir'd to recommend any body to the Senators, ponder the busines so well before hand that you may not come off with a deniall; You must take heed to recommend to any temporall Judges the persons of Churchmen in processees against the Laiks: You must not favour in that City or Signorie the execution of any sentence given at *Rome*, unlesse you have comandement from his Holines so to doe, which you must shew.

Let your Servants be observant to know the customes and fashions of the Cittie, not geering at such things that may haply breed laughter in a Stranger; But on the contrary, let them be pliable to accommodat themselves to the modes of the place; for som fashions that are held comly in other places, may seem ridiculous here. And oftentimes they will not disdain to use in ordinary discours som termes of that Countrey, and the Venetian dialect, which you must not slight.

Although the commendation and praises which are given one, are accustomed commonly to procure frendship, and the good grace of him who is prais'd, yet the custome and humor of the Venetian cannot brook, that a Nuntio or Ambassador shold extoll and commend such that are in authority among them, either in their own presence, or before any other, for those kind of praises doe not use to sound or relish well: 'Tis tru, that before parents or kinred or intimat frends one may blazon the worth and vertu of som Senator; but the surest way is to abstain from commending any at all, and to be reserv'd in this point: But as a public Minister cannot commend the actions or exploits of any Venetian Gentleman without endangering the party, and wronging his own judgment, yet the Venetians are very well pleas'd to hear the praises of the Republic in generall, or any thing that may tend to the glory therof, or of the Nation; specially if one points at those things which are peculiar to that people or City, and cannot be applied to any other, as the marvailous site of the Cittie; the maner wherby She is preserv'd, and secur'd, with the causes therof; The public and privat magnificences, the Patrician blood, wherin the chief extractions of the Roman Nobility, and of many other Townes of *Italy*, with other places of *Europe*, was conserv'd pure from mingling with the Goths, Vandalls, Hunns, Sarracens and Longobards neer upon 13. hundred yeers: the Christian nativity of this Republic, having never follow'd any other Religion; the method of Her Government, and that She hath particular constitutions of Her own which She never borrowed of others, but She did constitut Her self; That She hath conserv'd Her-self a longer tract of time than any Republic that ever was; having never lost or diminish'd any part of Her first liberty, or acknowledgd any other superiority but Her own; Her

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temperat kind of mixture in point of government tends allso much to Her honor, wherein all the qualities, and kinds of governments are involvd; The maner of electing Her Prince, and subordinat Magistrats by an extraordinary way of balloting or lottery, wherein choice and chance have a hand; Her formes of justice, with the cautious authority and moderation of Her Judges; The prudence and maturity of Her Senat in all deliberations; Her matchles Forces by Sea; Her vast provisions, and preparatifs for all kinds of Warr, wherein that Signorie surpasseth all other Potentats of Christendom; That no Navall Warr can be made against the Ottomans, the common Enemy, without conjunction with Her; That this Republic is calld the Shield, and principall safeguard, and as *Paul* the 3. sayd, the Bullwark of *Europe*; The mighty Forces She employd against *Cyprus* against *Selym* for Her defence; The generosity She hath shewed not to refuse the Warr; The deliberations She holds before She engageth in any fight, and Her most celebrous exploits in the great battail of *Lepanto* in the year 1571. And not to extend my self further, I say you will extremely please the *Venetians* in elevating the achievements, ancient and modern, of the Signorie; Moreover, twill be very gustfull unto Her if you speak of Her piety, and munificence to the Church, and to have oftentimes bin the Protectresse of *Saint Peters* Chaire, renewing the memory of what passd twixt *Fraderis* the second and Her, with the Negotiations and Proicestations made by Her before the Duke of *Alva* in the Warr against his *Holines*, and all things els that you can alledg conducible to this purpose; Lastly, remember well to extoll the royal and sincere proceedings of the Republic upon all occurrences in public treaties; commending Her that She useth to negotiat frankly, without any artifice or disguise, but really, and without palliations.

I will not name heer the Princes that are belov'd or hated by the Signorie, for it will tend to little purpose. The Republic of *Ragusa*, and *Genoa* are no great friends to this Signorie; yet They hate Her not, but use to be sensible of her dangers, and troubles; because that whosoever growes to be master of any of these Republics will have the greater strength; which is just contrary to the aymes of the Republic of *Venice*, whose policy tends that the state of *Italy* receaves no alteration, but be allwayes at a constant stand; And for this cause She wold be contented that the Dominions which the Spaniard hath in that Countrey were equally divided twixt *Spain* and *France*, that the power of those two great Kings might be counterpoisd, and that neither of them were so powerfull in *Italie*. Wherupon the Signorie of *Venice* extremely desireth that *Rome*, with the State Ecclesiastic, and the Apostolic Seat, might be preservd, in regard that beside the affair of Religion, She observes the excellent Regiment of the Church, wherein all the vigor, and reputation of *Italia* consists; And touching the holy Father, were he reduced to any extremity or danger, this pious Republic wold employ all Her power to protect Him, being wisely perswaded that all the damage which wold fall upon his Sanctity, wold rebound upon Her. I have forborn to observe hitherunto that the principall object of the

consultations of this noble *Signory* is the repose of *Italy*, and to preserve her from revolutions of intestine broyles.

You must also take it among your instructions that in the Discourses you shall hold with the *Venetians* or others, you must not shew your self inclinable to make a new league against the *Turk*, but rather when you fall upon this subject, you shall appeer rather for peace, and approve of the prudence of the *Signorie* in her carriage towards this huge Potentate to have no actually hostility with him; In which Discourse you must be mindfull of the three reasons, which the *Venetians* use to alledge that it is necessary for that state to have peace with the *Turk*.

The first is in regard that all the Isles, Coasts and *Maritime* places which the *Signorie* possesseth do confine with some part of the *Ottoman* Empire, thereupon She may be easily surpris'd and invaded that way.

The second is in regard that the City of *Venice* being the best peopled of all *Italy*, She hath not territory enough to maintain and support Her-self, or afford her all sorts of necessaries, therefore She must be oblig'd to other Countries for Her sustentation, now, there is no Prince upon Earth, that lieth so opportunely to furnish Her as the *Turk*.

Thirdly, if a War be declar'd in the *Levant* all traffick will cease by Sea; as also commerce by Land, therefore the City of *Venice* being one of the greatest Mercantile Towns in the World, her Citizens will grow poor, and want employment.

You must add to these considerations the form and institution of the Republic, being from the first time of her foundation ordained and born as it were for peace and plenty, as She hath found by experience; Therefore the *Venetian* Senators are always pleas'd, when any motion is made of Peace, and when any mention is made of the *Turk* they will not be discontented to hear him extoll'd for a mighty great Prince, implying thereby that the *Signorie* is the wiser to be at good termes with him; The Reasons whereby the *Venetians* did justify their proceedings, when against the capitulations of the league they did accommodate themselves with the *Turk*, are so known to the World that it were a peece of impertinency to insist upon them here; but in your Discourse among the *Venetians*, you may make use of them as occasion shall invite you.

I finish these Instructions with this necessary Rule that every Ambassador, or public Minister of state ought to render himself agreeable to the Prince, with whom he negotiates, which may tend much to the happy conduct, and advancement of all his Negotiations.

A Review of the Navall strength of Venice.

IN regard the main strength and incolumity, together with the principall defence and glory of this *Neptunian* Damsell is derived from the Sea, it will not be amisse to make inspection once more into her waters, and fadom the depth of her navall power.

Now, to treat of her strength this way it will not be amisse to give a little touch once more at Her *Arsenall*, which strikes an admiration into all men that are curious to survey it, and may be rank'd one of the wonders of the World in that kind; It is sited and encompass'd with a great chanell of the Sea, It is girt about with strong walls three miles in circuit; Ther have been counted there at one time 300 Gallies, besides those that were in cours to secure the gulf whereof ther were above 22 Galeasses, which in comparison of the other Gallies may be call'd men in compleat Armes, or Cuirasses, because they are not so nimble in their motion neither for Sayle or Oar as others, but they give a far greater shock, and if they have a rowing gale of wind and favorable, 20 of these are able to encounter 100. of other Gallies; besides they have the advantage of *Galeons*, because they have Feet as well as Wings.

For Timber to build all sorts of sayling Vessells, ther is such abundance that by an extraordinary providence grow up and down upon the Coasts not far remote from the Cittie in the firm Land that she never wants any, but can furnish her self out of her own stock.

For Rowers and Sayles besides those that the City can afford, Her-self, She hath great numbers in all the *Maritime* Townes; And for Souldiers for her Gallies She employes those of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia* with other places call'd the *Cernides*; The Captaines and Lieutenants of Her Gallies are for the most part *Venetian* Gentlemen, wherof ther is a great multitude; And besides the Lieutenant, She employes alwayes two young Gentlemen more to be exercis'd in *Maritime* affaires, the art of Navigation, and navall Militia; The greatest inconveniences She hath is scarcity of Bread and Bisket; howsoever She is allwayes very carefull to supply their want, by those huge Magazins of all sort of grain which She stores up in the *Arsenall*, and other places: She hath commonly evry yeer, though She be in peace with all the World, about 40 Gallies to scowre the gulph, and secure her Islands in the *Ionian* Sea, wherof ther is an Admirall call'd the *Captain of the Gulph*, who hath 5000 Duketts for his annual salary.

These Gallies do not only free the Gulph from *Corсарies* or Pyratts, but they preserve the Reputation of the Republic; and Breed alwayes a nursery of able Sea-Comanders: whensoever She understands that the *Turk* Arms at Sea, She doth accordingly encrease this number of Gallies, and names a Generall. She is infested sometimes with petty companions call'd the *Uscocchi* upon the coasts of *Dalmatia*, who having snap'd up any little prize, use to retire suddenly to some of the territories of the House of *Austria*, which causeth her to be at the charge

charge of maintaining a Fleet of small vessells calld *Fusti* upon those Coasts to secure her Marchants. Indeed, it cannot be imagin'd what number of Vessells the *Signorie* can put to Sea, in regard She hath all kind of Provisions, Materialls, Armes and other necessities alwayes in a readines; And She doth dayly improve Her strength rather than diminish it; Therefore if about 300 years agoe she did arme above 200. Gallies and other Vessells towards the conquest of the Holy Land, and so many in the conquest of *Constantinople* where She joyned with the *French*, it is easy to conjecture how her power hath bin augmented since; considering that all her Neighbours have encreas'd in strength since that time, and it hath bin one of her prime Rules of policy to have an eye to that, and proportion her Forces accordingly, This being the chiefeest thing that those great Officers the three Sages of the Sea, and the three Sages *de Terra firma* have given them in charge: therefore when they are elected for those Offices they have more honor given them than ordinary; yet when any are so chosen ther is not any useth to congratulat them, or go to kisse their hands as was usuall when the great Councell was risen after the Election; And this is one of the modernst Lawes of *Venice*, which was ratified and enacted with great approbation, *viz.* That when any was nominated to any office of honor or public trust, none of the Senat shold congratulat them, whereas before evry man at the recessse of the Councell wold presse to take those by the hand who were chosen Magistrats, protesting with many vowes that they were seriously glad in their hearts of the advancement that had befallen them, yea even those wold say so that had given their suffrages against them by way of complement, which was adjudged by the *Censors* to be a great abuse and unworthy of the Venetian Nobility, being in all other things so grave and honorable.

The sayed *Censors* also are of no long institution, they are created with great solemnity, their office being to repressse the ambition and prodigality of the Gentry, and to look with severity into their deportments.

The Defects of the Signorie of Venice.

BUt now we have taken paines to recount the perfections and virtues of this powerfull and so well policed Commonwealth, which are so many in number, and such, that they fill all the world with wonder; It will not be impertinent to discover what are Her defects and vices, considering that ther is no created body in this sublunary world, either naturall or civill, but is subject to imperfections, and no convenience is without its inconvenience.

The first defect then and the greatest that *Venice* is thought to be subject unto, is, that being Lady of so many Countreys, She must import nourishment for Her Children out of other places, and if She had not the Sea for Her friend She might endure a great deal of hardship, for want of bread (which is the staff of life) and of all sorts of grain; Therefore
it

it is the principall morif that induceth Her to be very loth to fall out with the Turk, from whose Dominions She fetcheth many commodities that conduce to sustenance and well being.

It is another inconvenience unto Her that *Candy* in the Mediterranean, and other Iles She hath in the Ionian Seas, are so remote from Her, and they so distant one from the other.

Another is, that She is enforced in time of actuall warr to employ Suisses, and Germanes, with other Strangers, who are acquainted with the new modes of combating; For touching the Italian Infanterie, they are softer, and hardly drawn from their old fashion of fight, and military discipline.

Another may be, that by reason of Her overmuch jealousy and caution She dares not employ any of Her own Subjects in quality of Generall by Land for fear lest he should grow too popular.

Lastly, That She being the next neighbour to the Turk, if any other Christian Prince or State offends Him or His Subjects, he is ready ever and anon to throw the Catt at her shinns, to pick a quarrell, and wreck his revenge upon Her, by setting upon Her skirts either by Land or Sea, and this She hath often felt; Add herunto that this vicinity with so huge a Potentat encreaseth both Her cares and expences, for ther is no State consumes more in Fortifications.

Touching Her Vices, She is taxd all the World over for the latitud of liberty She gives to carnall plesure, and the large conscience She hath under the navill, though *Naples* exceed Her in this kind, whence some wold derive the ground of the proverb, That *Venice and Naples are two Paradises where Devills dwell*; But She may receive this infection from the *Greek* and the *Turk* Her Neighbours, who hold that the Creator inordred his handmayd Nature to infuse hott bloud into humane veines, and into that bloud appetits and motions not to be a torment unto him, but to be turnd into delight and plesure; To this they say ther be multitudes of reclusd men and women in *Venice*, who by their austere cours of continency make som compensation for this loosnes in others, and keep Her Citty from *sinking*; for when the last cense was made, ther were neer upon 5000. Fryers and Nunns immurd within the Citty, who make vowes of continency, and have divorced themselves for such sensuall plesures.

Lastly, *Venice* is taxd that Her Children are so mortally revengefull; but this humor is incident to all Italians, and other Nations besides; who if they receive a weighty injury from any, they will make sure work with him, and dispatch him, So that he shall not wrong them twice; which a Duellist useth to doe by exposing his life to equall hazard with his Enemy.

*Of the famous and renowned men which
Venice hath producd.*

THer are few Citties which have brought forth men more celebrated for all the Cardinall Virtues than *Venice* hath don, as also more scientificall contemplative men, and greater Artists; whose names, to doe Her a generall right, we thought it not improper to insert here. *Venice* producd three Popes, and they were accounted the best of Popes; *viç. Gregory* the 12. of the *Corarian* familie; *Eugenius* the 4. sprung of the *Cundelmerians*, a man of transcendent parts of wisdom; and *Paul* the 2. of the extraction of *Barbi*, whose virtues *Blondus*, *Sabellicus*, and *Platina* himself, who was no friend to som Popes, doth blazon forth in a high mesure.

Ther have bin a great number of Cardinalls, as *Petrus Maurocenus*, *Marcus Landus*, *Johannes Amadeus*, *John Baptista Zeno*, *Dominicus Grimanus* who was afterwards Patriark of *Aquileia*, he was a greater honor to the *redd hat* than any, both for learning and all virtu; his Library had above 10000. Volumes of Greek and Latin Authors; Ther was also *Marcus Cornarius*, and *Marinus Grimanus*, *Gaspas Contarenus*, *Petrus Bembo* who was adopted to the Colledg of Cardinalls by *Paul* the 3. of whose elegant and learned Writings as well in Greek and Latin, with other Languages, all the World doth ring. *Franciscus Cornarius*, and *Franciscus Pisanus*, *Marinus Grimanus* a man whom the World admird, who was so many times employed in quality of Nuntio; he was also Governor of *Parma* and *Placentia* from the Pope, *Johannes Grimanus* also was a Man renowned all the World over.

Touching learned men that left Monuments to posterity they are numberles; ther was *Pantaleon Justinianus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*; *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Laurentius Justinianus* Patriarch of *Aquileia*; *Maphas Contarenus*, *Andreas Bendelmerius*, *Gregorius Corarius*, *Johannes Boratius*, *Maphas Gerardus*, *Thomas Donatus*, *Antonius Syriannus*, *Ludovicus Contarenus*; *Antonius Contarenus*, *Hieronymus Quirinus*; *Hieronymus Trevisanus*, *Petrus Montem*, *Jacobus Zeno*, *Antonius Pisanus*, *Aloysius Lippamannus*; *Andreas Dandalus* Duke of *Venice* is to be rankd among these learned Authors, who compild a gallant Story, whom *Petrarch*, *Blondus* and *Sabellicus* mention with so much honor: *Leonardus Justinianus*, *Zacharias Trevisanus*, *Marcus Lippamannus*; *Franciscus Barbadias*, *Daniel Veturinus*, *Franciscus Barbarus*; All these, with multitudes more of this kind were Sonnes of *Venice*, whose Works have flown through most parts of the World.

The City also of *Venice* producd many excellent Lawyers, as *Barbonus Maurocenus*, *Ludovicus Foscarus*, *Vitalis Landus*, *Candianus Polanus*, *Nicolaus Canalis*, *Laurus Quirinus*, *Johannes Carnalis*, *Paulus Barbus*, *Andreas Julianus*, *Bernardus Justinianus*, *Petrus Thomas*, *Ludovicus Donatus*, *Franciscus Dedus*, *Marcus Sanutus*, *Hieronymus Donatus*; all these were great Lawyers and Senators, whose learned Works are found yet

yet in most of the Libraries up and down Christendom, with those of *Andreas Navagerius*.

Besides men of erudition and exquisite learning and policy, *Venice* hath brought forth a great number of Generalls and Captaines renowned all the earth over for their prowess and valour both by Land and Sea, who enlarged the Territories of the Republic by their exploits and victories; Ther com in the van of these *Johannes* and *Raynus Polanus*, who brought *Corfu* or *Cercyra* under subjection; *Marinus Gradonicus* with *Dominicus Maurocenus* reduc'd *Pola*; *Johannes Basilus*, and *Thomas Falerius* did daunt and discomfit the *Pisans* when they infested the Seas; *Reinerus Dandalus* with *Rugerius Permarinus*, took *Metbo* and *Coton* after a stubborn sieg, and with marvillous personall resolution; *Johannes Trevisanus* with nine Vessells utterly overcame and took 22 *Genoways* nere *Drepano* in *Sicilie*; *Petrus Thomas*, *Johannes Gritus*, *Nicolaus Balestrerius*, *Marcus Bonus*, and *Andreas Thealdus*, did oftentimes reduce to obedience the *Candiotts* in severall Rebellions; *Leonardus Quirinus*, and *Marcus Onissorius* brought away two famous victories from before *Constantinople*; *Reinerus Zeno* quieted most parts of *Dalmatia* when they mutined: *Laurentius Teupolus* in the port of *Ptolemais* took and sunk 23 Shippes of the *Genowayes*, And afterwards being joyned with *Andreas Zeno* he took 25 of their Gallies and Galeons nere *Tyre*; The *Greek Emperour Balduinus* made *Mark Gradonico* Admirall of all the Seas; *Marcus Michael* with a few Gallies put to flight 20 sayles of *Genowayes*, and afterwards took *Chalcis*. *Gilbertus Dandalus*, and *Jacobus Dandalus* in a bloody fight nere *Drepano* in *Sicilie* took 24 of their men of War; *Raggierus Maurocenus* being Generall of 60 Gallies did things beyond belief; *Johannes Superantius* with 25 Gallies took *Theodosia* in the *Tauric Cherchonesus*, and a little after *Benedictus Iustinianus* took a great number of *Greek Shippes*. *Petrus Zeno* was the first Generall that was employed against the *Turks*, and brought home two victories in one yeer. Ther succeeded him *Marinus Falerus*, *Andreas Cornalis*, *Petrus* and *Marcus Canalis*, *Marcus Iustinianus*, who were never beaten in their lives, but came off allwayes victors in seven navall Expeditions.

The first Officers whom the Republic employed in quality of *Proveditors* to accompanie the Generall, and concur with him in all counsells were *Andreas Maurocenus*, and *Simon Dandalus*, and afterwards *Nicolaus Gradonicus*, and *Paukratius Iustinianus*, which charge and singular trust was delated unto them for their extraordinary prudence, and fidelity to their Countrey, which they made appeer in the Execution of their places, and the triumphant success they had; *Nicolaus Pisanus* deserves immortall prayse, together with *Johannes Delphinus* in that he took away from the *Genowayes* 50 sayles of Shippes; *Paulus Loredanus*, *Marcus Michael*, and *Johannes Sanutus*, deserve no lesse for their exploits in the *Llevant Seas*; *Marcus Cornalis* was not inferior to any of these, when Duke *Falerius* being slain the Senat for his high deserts made choice of him to be Prince with the acclamation of all the Peeple; *Bernardus Iustinianus* became glorious over all parts of the *Greek Empire*

for his notable achievements, and extraordinary valour ; The fortitud and wisdom of *Victor Pisannus* in overcoming the assaults of sinister fortune was most memorable ; for being by the election of the Senat, and applause of all the *Venetian* People delign'd Admirall of the *Gulph*, upon som ill successes, and reluctancies of fortune, the *Genowayes* occupying *Fosse Clodia*, was cast into Prison by sentence of the Senat, and *Venice* was reduc'd to such streights, that She sent a blank to the *Genowayes* to write their own capitulations for Peace, which they refusing, the sayd *Victor Pisannus* by the cry and pastulations of all the People was demanded out of Prison, which being obtain'd, he was by an universall suffrage of the great Councell chosen Admirall again, and launching forth into the *Archipelago*, he carried away from the *Genowayes*, who were then agogg for their great successes, the most glorious victory that ever was had of them, and so pluck'd up his Countrey out of that deep plunge She was then fallen into ; *Sabellicus* writes of this noble chieftain, that being sent for by the Senat out of Prison, he excus'd himself saying that he had something to do before he wold part from that Schoole of Repentance, therfore staying there all that night, and spending most part of it in spirituall meditation, he sent betimes the next morning for his ghostly Father, and after a very penitent confession of his sinnes, he took the holy Eucharist, protesting by that holy Sacrament that he freely forgave all those who had don him injury by their traducements, and that he wold be as tru to his Countrey, and as carefull of the glory of the Republic as ever he was, not doubting but God, and all his holy Angells wold accompanie him.

Dominicus Michael with a Fleet of 24. well appointed Gallies only, reduc'd the Ile of *Candie* to a perfect passe of obedience, when She had utterly fallen off from her obedience to the Republic being fomented by divers Princes in that Rebellion. Ther succeeded him in the Generallship *Cressus Molinus*, *Michael Delphinus*, *Jacobus Maurus*, *Marcus Justinianus*, *Carolus Zeno* who in the *Clodian* Battail against the *Genowayes* shewd such notable evidences of valour ; *Michael Justinianus*, *Petrus Hemus*, *Fantinus Georgius*, *Marcus Grimannus*, *Iohannes Barbus*, *Victor Barbarus* obtain'd eternall glory for their exploits against *Philip Maria* Duke of *Milian* ; *Franciscus Bembus* gaind no lesse renown by a famous victory he got of the *Milaneses* upon the River of *Po* by a Fleet of Gallifoists as *Blodus*, *Sabellicus* and *Corius* make honorable mention in their works. *Petrus Lauredanus* made all the Eastern world ring of his glory, so did after him *Andreas Mocenigus* ; *Stephanus Contarenus* gave three severall defeats to the Dukes of *Milan* that all *Italy* sound'd out his fame, when *Brescia* came under the Dominion of the Republic : *Aloysius Lauredanus*, in that memorable expedition against the great *Turk*, wherein Pope *Eugenius*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* were joynd, came off with admirable successe : *Victor Capellus* a man of cleer intellectualls and solid judgment was Admirall in divers notable expeditions against the *Turk* and never receavd any repulse, in so much that he was honor'd by his very enemies ; After him *Ursatus Justinianus*,
Jacobus

Jacobus Lauredanus, *Nicolaus Canalù*, *Petrus Mocenicus*, were famous both in the Greek, the Mediterranean and all the Levant Seas; *Victor Superantius* made his name good by his actions, being a man of an undaunted spirit, yet very circumspect in the conduct of all his actions; *Hieronymus Canalù* purchas'd an egregious name by taking *Maurus Alexandrinus* after a fierce and bloody combat.

Vicentius Capellus was renowned farr and neer for his exploits against the Moors & Turks, who durst not peep out while he was at Sea for many yeers; *Andreas Trevisanus* a Knight though slow in deliberation, yet quick in execution, brought to the City many prizes which enrich'd Her exceedingly, and had he liv'd to it he had worn the Ducall Capp. Many other most illustrious Heroes receavd their birth in Venice, as *Antonius Cornarius*, *Nicolaus Prinlus*, *Gieronimus Georgius* Knight of Saint Mark a famous Orator, who was employed Ambassador to most of the Kings of Christendom, and was admired for his wisdom as well as for his eloquence; *Marcus Fuscarns*, *Thomas Contareus*, and *Laurentius Amulius* were men admir'd in their time both for their prudence in the Senat, and prowesse at Sea, where they took that notorious Pyrat *Sarbanassa*, who so infest'd the Archipelago that he became a terror to all Marchants and Passengers; To these may be added *Sebastianus Venerius*, who though he comes in the rere of all the rest, yet may he be deservedly rank'd among the formost, both for his magnanimity, his rare knowledg in the Art of Navigation, and in prudent conduct of all his designes, but specially for his notable successes; In that glorious battail of *Lepanto* he was the man that did the most signal peece of service when he rescued *Don John* of *Austria* the Generalissimo of the whole Fleet when he was ready to sink being orepower'd by the Turks, and *Don John* did acknowledg it, calling him ever after his Preserver and Father, though ther had happend a little before an ill-favour'd clash betwixt them (as hath appeerd in the bulk of the Story) wherein *Venerius* shewd that he was not inferior to him in courage, though he was an Emperours Son; This brave Sea-Generall was chosen after to sitt at the Stern of the whole Republic, and to be Prince of Venice, which was don not only by the suffrage of the Senat, but by the universall acclamations of the peeple; When he died, divers forren Princes sent for his picture, to preserve the memory of so gallant a man.

These, with numberles more, are those brave spirits which issued out of the womb of this Mayden-City, wherof som were supereminent for holines, and high virtues; others for erudition and learning of all kinds, whose works are yet extant up and down the Libraries of *Christendom* as eternall Monuments of their worth; others excell'd in prudence, and prowesse, in counsell and courage; Nor doe I beleeve, if one were curious to penetrat the whole bulk of the Roman Story, and peruse all Her Annalls, I say he will not be able to produce so many gallant men; though we know that no City in the world us'd to magnifie her own Children more than old *Rome*, wherein She was somtimes so Hyperbolicall, that among other things it was imputed to Her as a vanity, wherof Venice was allwayes free; Nor could *Athens*, *Sparta*, or *Lacedemon*

demon and other Greek Commonwealths, of whom the *Romanes* seemd to borrow this vainglory, muster up so many Worthies, which Commonwealths may be sayed to have bin but Mushrumps in point of *duration* if compar'd to the Signorie of *Venice*.

Having now glanc'd here again upon old *Rome*, and in the precedent parts of this Discours made som parallels twixt Her and *Venice*, in Her way of government, and politicall conduct of civill matters; And having in the Historicall part that went a little before spoken of the severall kinds of enemies, quarrells and combatings that She hath had, I thought it no impertinency or digression to make another short parallel twixt old *Rome*, and the Republic of *Venice* in point of Martiall affaires.

Another parallel twixt old Rome and Venice.

AS in Magistracy and method of government the *Republic* of *Venice* doth much symbolize with old *Rome*, as hath bin declar'd, so also in their preliations and quarrells, as likewise in the cours and qualitie of their Wars both by Sea and Land with severall Nations, ther is no little resemblance between them; this only being the greatest disparity, that the *Romanes* destroyed themselves by one Warr, but the *Venetian* hath remaind yet invincible. Let us make som comparisons betwixt them.

Such as at first the *Hernici*, *Equi* and *Volscians* were to the *Romanes*, such have the *Dalmatians*, *Istrians* and *Liburnians* bin to the *Venetians*; The *Gauls* under the conduct of *Brennus* (the *Britain*) was a destructive Enemy unto them, having left them nothing but the *Capitoll*; The same Nation (called afterwards *French*) much molested the *Venetians*, and once took all from them except the *Rialto*; The *Cimbrians*, *Tentomans*, and *Ambrons* were terrible to the *Romanes* and to all *Italy*; the like were the *Goths*, *Hunns* and *Longobards* to the *Venetians* and their Neighbours; *Carthage* was an Enemy to the Latin name, the like was *Genoa* to the *Venetian*; But *Carthage* shewed her greatest fury against the *Romanes* when She was confederat with King *Philip* and the *Syracusans* against them; In like maner *Genoa* was never more terrible to the *Venetian* than at that time, when in the Warr of *Chioggia* She was back'd by *Lewis* King of *Hungary* and the *Padoans*: *Pyrrhus* was an Enemy to the *Romanes*, but more mild than the *Carthaginians*; *Pepin* was so to the *Venetians*, but much more tractable than the *Genoways*; The *Romanes* had a tedious Warr with *Mithridates*; The *Venetians* with *Philippo Visconte*; *Antiochus* was a powerfull Enemy against them, but the *Ottoman* a more potent against the *Venetian*; The *Romanes* maintaind the *Confederat* Warr, the most dangerous that ever was in *Italy*; and the *Venetians* to resemble them in all things, did not onely in *Lombardie* withstand the Forces of all the Princes of *Italy*, who envied their greatnes, but brake them asunder.

The *Romanes* after their first establishment wanting women for propagation, invited their Neighbours with their Daughters to certain public histrionicall

histrionicall shewes, where they surprizd and seizd upon all the Mayds, and kept them, whence issued a Warr; Such an accident happend in *Venice* upon Her first erection; For a great Wedding being to be celebrated, where the *Bride* being full of rich Jewells, as also the *Bride-mayds*, with others that were invited, according to the ancient custom; They were assaulted upon a sudden by certain *Pyratts* who carried them all away as prize to *Dalmatia*; But the *Venetians* arming those few Gallies they had then, pursued them so eagerly, and overtaking them they sett upon them with such a resolution, that they not onely redeemed the *Bride* with all the *Maydens*, but having made a great slaughter of the *Enemy*, they took all their Shippes, by giving them an utter overthrow; And this was the first victory that *Venice* gott.

As in quality of *Enemies*, and *Warrs*, so *Venice* hath much resemblance with old *Rome* in the management of Her *Martiall-affaires*, specially in expecting an exact obedience to Her *Commissions* and *Instructions*, which must not be exceeded under pain of life, or indispensable punishment; for if good success follow, it will be imputed to the weaknes of Her *Senators* who should have given a larger Commission, which prejudice is taken off by chastising the party; Herof ther are divers examples, but a late one shall serve the turn in the person of *Capello*, who notwithstanding that he had performed a most noble exploit by overcoming the *Barbary* Fleet som few yeers since, and carrying away with him the Admirall Gallie of *Algier*, which now lyeth in the *Arsenall* among the chiefest *Trophies*, yet in regard he transcended his Commission, he was arraigned as *Criminall* before the *Decemvirat*, and, but for good friends, he had breathd his last, and hangd by the legg betwixt the two Columns in *Saint Marks Place*. Moreover, though *Rome* had usually mighty Armies abroad, yet the *Cittie* was allwayes so peacefull as if there had bin no Warr at all; Therefore when any *Generall* returnd it was death for him to passe the River *Rubicon* with his Army; So *Venice* though She have never so many *Enemies* abroad and Armies in actuall service, yet ther is not the least signe of warr or disturbance in the *Cittie* Her-self, but She is peacefull at home, and when any of Her *Generalls* return they may not com within 100. miles of Her Walls under paine of death.

Of the advantages which Venice hath of old Rome.

HAVING made these parallels twixt old *Rome* and *Venice*, I will conclude with divers things wherein the *last* may be sayed to have the advantage, or may deserve the priority of the former.

1. *Rome* was born a *Pagan*, *Venice* a *Christian* when She was but an Embryon, and so suckd farr better milk in her infancy. The *Romanes* added still to their Religion by entertaining new Gods ever and anon from those Countreys they subdued, alledging ther could not be too many Gods to support so great an Empire, though tis tru a Decree of the Senat was usd to passe before they were admitted into the *Pantheon*, and other Temples, which Decree ran in these old Latin words, *Nemo habescit Deos*

novos aut advenas nisi publicè ascitos, Let none have new Gods or Strangers till they be publickly allowed; *Venice* was never subject to such levities.

2. In rarenes of situation *Venice* is superior to *Rome*, and indeed to any other Citty on the surface of the Earth, for herin She brooks no comparison; for when any Stranger comes to see *Venice* evry day will strike a fresh admiration into him for a long time together, and in this particular, *Rome* may be sayed to be as farr inferior to *Venice* as *Tyber* is to the *Sea*, in whom the Citty may be sayed to shine as a pearl in a Muscleshell.

3. In point of navall strength, *Rome* was never comparable to *Venice*, for She never had such a *grandezza* as Her *Arsenall*; Her Sea-vessells were but shallopps compard to those which are now in use; She did but lick the shore, whereas *Venice* did launch out into the *Main*, and rid triumphantly upon *Neptune's* back.

Old *Rome* was ever inclin'd to war, her mud-walls having been embued with bloud at her first foundation, She still thirsted after more dominions, and Her ambition was interminable, so that her Republic was made up of *Magna Latrocinia* as one sayed; *Venice* on the contrary hath ever sought after peace both for Her-self and Her Neighbours, having don the best Offices that way of any state in *Christendom*; It was the vainglory of old *Rome* to brag of the exploits of Her Children, which *Venice* never useth to do, but ther is a Law to the trary.

5. For extent of Territories 'tis tru that old *Rome* went beyond *Venice*, yet *Venice* had a title than which old *Rome* never had a greater, which was that Her Duke was call'd while the *Greek Empire* lasted *Protospiter Gracii imperii*, first father of the *Grecian Empire*.

6. Old *Rome* had never such potent foes, and formidable Armies to cope withall as *Venice* hath had, She never had such a confederacy as that league of *Cambray* against Her; She never had an enemy of such a vast power as the *Turk* is; It were a paradox to hold, that old *Rome* had not brave magnanimous men whom Her own stories magnifie so much, and it is as great a paradox to hold, that *Venice* hath not had more; though She be far more free from that humor of ostentation. Ther were divers brave spirits in *Rome* that did murder themselves in height of spirit, And ther were braver spirits in *Venice* that did mortifie themselves, as divers of Her Princes have don, by shaking off the Ducall robes for a froc, and so bidding a farwell to the pomp and pleasures of the world.

7. In point of duration and longævity old *Rome* was not made of so strong a constitution as *Venice*, who hath almost lasted twice her time, for She hardly continued a Republic 700 yeers; yet *Venice* to this day is plump and buxom, as if She meant to hold touch with *Time* himself, and coexpire with the world.

Lastly, *Venice* hath this preheminnce of old *Rome*, that she hath preserv'd her Maydenhead to this day though situated in hot salt waters, and though oftentimes forc'd, yet was She never ravish'd; whereas *Rome* becam a prostitut to all Nations, who ridd Her often out of breath,
but

but *Venice* from the first moment of Her conception to this very point of time.

Virgo manet medio pura, recensque Salo.

To this *Latin* Pentameter we will add this *English* Distich, (for I know *Venice* will not be displeas'd if She be told how old She is) and so bid Her farewell,

*Ne're Mayd did beare Her age so well
As Venice, if Her yeers you tell.* 1231.

A Cohortation, by way of Corollary, address'd to all Christian Princes and States to resent the present dangers of the Republic of Venice.

HAVING in this large Prospective or *Murano* Looking-glasse more properly, (though I confesse not cut with a *Diamond cut*) represented unto the world the true face and Physiognomy of this renowned Virgin, having fetched Her from Her very Cradle, set Her forth in all Her proportions, and attended Her to that stature of perfection She is now grown unto, having also dissected Her government, and anatomiz'd evry lim thereof by pourtraying Her in all her colours, both inward and outward; Having likewise taken an abstract of the story of all Her Princes, and felt the pulse of Her courage by shewing what glorious exploits She hath perform'd up and down the World against the mightiest Potentats on earth, having moreover pryed into Her interests of state in relation to other Princes, Having also made you know Her defects, as well as Her advantages, and unvail'd Her vices as well as Her vertues; Lastly, having declared in what trepidations, and dangerous condition She stands at present, by having clos'd in actuall lutation with that great Eastern Giant the common Enemy, who as *the Wolfe in the Fable useth to take hold of any slight occasion, if the waters be troubled, to quarrell with Her, and ther her to peeces*; I take the boldnes now to direct this seasonable hortative or alarum rather, to all Christian Princes, and States, that it is high time for them to be sensible of her present engagements and consequently to reach her a helping hand, which as by a generall tie of Christianity, so for sundry particular respects and indispensable obligations they are bound to do.

1. In regard 'tis known and confest'd by all, that She is the main Bul-work of the principallst parts of *Europe* against the *Turk*, for in the bottom of her Gallies lieth the security and wellfare of all her Neighbours; It is She that holds him at the Oares end that he cannot take any sure footing in *Italy*, as he hath attempted often, and it is known by wo-
full experience that whersoever he or his horse once sets his foot, the grasse
Ff will

will never grow there again, Therefore, under favour, they are oblig'd by the common and mutuall tie of danger to preserve this Republic from sinking.

2. All Christendom is beholden unto this wise Republic, in regard She hath interceded from time to time, and labourd more for the generall peace and tranquility of Christendom, and by her moderation and prudent comportment hath don better Offices in this kind then any other whatsoever *Rome* excepted.

3. It is She that hath bin the chiefeft instrument to keep even the scales of the great balance of State betwixt the Princes of the Western world, that the power of one might not so out-poize and be trabocant that the rest shold be in danger to be blown up.

4. Ther is an extraordinary respect and honor due unto the *Signorie of Venice* from the rest of Christendom, in regard that whereas other Princes have made use of the *Turk* against their fellow *Christians* as could be prov'd by many instances, yet the Republic of *Venice*, though fairely offer'd, and importun'd thereunto, wold never make use of him that way in her greatest extremities; Neither in that mighty league of *Cambray*, when all the power of *Europe* was knotted against her; Nor during the time of the *Interdict* when the Pope, and the House of *Austria* were like to joyn against Her with temporall and spirituall Armes, yet She never wold accept the assistance of the *Turk*; though it be lawfull when ones House is set on fire to use foule water as well as fair, to extinguish it.

5. Lastly, The *Signorie of Venice* is to be more look'd upon then other States, because they who have had pratic in the world, and observ'd generall dependencies confesse, that her peace hath caus'd the plenty, and her warrs the peace of most Regions of *Europe*; It was She that open'd the Trade, and taught the Northwest world a way to all the Levant parts, as also into *Afric*, and the Southern Coasts of *Asia* as far as the Red-sea and the *Indies*; moreover Her *Bank* of money, as it hath bin the Ground and Rule of all other banks, so it is the most usefull for Marchants or Gentlemen to any part of the world, nor do I see how Christendom can subsist conveniently without it.

Therefore, humbly under favour, it highly behoves all other Christian Princes to be ayding and assisting unto this gallant and usefull Republic, to preserve this Virgin from being ravish'd by that rude Tyrant of the Levant, the common enemy, who is now actually uniting and banding all his forces both by Land and Sea, to shoot Her twixt Wind and Water, and utterly to sink Her; having now got out from between the *Dardanelli* with a great Fleet to succour *Canea*, and make good what he hath already got in *Candie*.

Besides these generall ties, ther be som motifs of encouragement now more then formerly that may serve to incite all Christian Princes against the *Turk* at this time, in regard that, according to the judgement of the wiser sort of men, that tyrannicall Empire is upon point of declining, or to suffer som notable change, because the *Fanizares* of late yeers have much degenerated from what they were from their Primitive

Institu-

institution, being now allowed to marry, and to exercise Marchandizing, which makes them lesse venturous, and to be more carefull of their wealth, with their Wives and Children, Besides, they have lost that godlike kind of reverence they us'd to bear unto the person of the *Ottoman* Emperour, so far, that they have embrued their hands in the blood of two of them allredy within these twenty yeers, the one had his braines dash'd out by a poleax, having the day before bin hurried away to prison, and as he was going a horseback his Turban was snatch'd off by a contemptible fellow, who clapt his own upon the Emperours head by way of exchange; and as he road along through the *Seraglio*, his own Court, he beggd a dish of water out of a poor wench's cruse; but being clapt in prison, the next day a company of Soldiers went to strangle him, who rushing furiously into his Chamber, he started out of his bedd, and thinking to defend himself a bold despicable slave knock'd him down; and this was the successe of that strange dream he had had a few nights before, when in his sleep he thought he was mounted upon a Camel who wold not go neither by fair or foul meanes, and lighting down from off him, he thought to have struck him with his Cimiter, but the whole body of the beast vanish'd away.

Besides, som late Astronomers, and those of the best rank among the Jewish Rabbins, do hold that the fate and fortune of a Kingdom may be read in the Heavens; for they have observ'd that all the Hebrew Letters may be found out among the Starrs; *Rabbi Chomer* assures the World that it is now a good while since this hath bin observ'd, for the Hebrew tounge wherein God himself vouchsaf'd to speak, and was the first among Mankind, hath certainly somthing of mysterie and excellence in it more than the other that had their beginning at the confusion of *Babel*; Divers of the Chaldeans and Jewish Rabbies, as *Rabbi Kapel*, *Abjudan* and *Chomer* spoken of before, have bin curious to spell these letters into words, affirming that this Celestiall writing hath bin so from the beginning: And if a good Astronomer, well vers'd in the Hebrew, do observe what Starrs are verticall over such a Countrey, he may foretell the Omens and fate of it, by observing which of the Hebrew Letters those Starrs resemble, and so compose those Letters into words. Thus, a little before the Temple of *Jerusalem* was burnt, and utterly consum'd by *Nabuzaradan*, it was noted that the verticall Starrs which hung over that Cittie made this Hebrew word *Hickschich*, which signifieth *to reject and forsake without mercy*. Thus the end of the Grecian Empire was likewise foreshew'd by sower Starrs which were verticall, that made this word *Parad*, which signifieth in Hebrew *divide*. Thus over *Athens* sower Starrs were observ'd to be verticall a little before her dissolution, which made this Hebrew word *Tsarar*, the sense wherof is *Angustia affici*, *To be troubled*; with divers other examples which a late curious French Author doth produce. But that somthing may be instanced to the present purpose, and concerning things to com, the sayed *Rabbi Chomer* doth confidently affirm (as the sayed French Author hath it) that this Celestiall writing hath pointed out the declining of two great Empires of the East; The one is that of *China*, which Countrey we know by the Tar-

tars irruption is in a fearfull confusion allredy; The other is that of the Turks, over which ther are observd seven verticall Starrs, which being read from the West to the East this Hebrew word *Caah* is made, which signifieth *to be batterd, to be feeble, languishing, and drawing to an end*: But now seeing it may be doubted at which time this Empire shall be reduced to this extremity, the same Letters do allso resolve the doubt, for those Letters being numericall make up the number of 1025. So that when this Kingdom shall have accomplishd the number of 1025. yeers, it shall then be overthrown, and brought to ruin; Now, if we reckon from the yeer of our Lord 630. which was the yeer according to our vulgar computation wherin the basis of this Empire was layed, we shall find that it is to last till the yeer of our Lord 1655. for the completing of the foresayed number 1025. So that reckoning from this present yeer 1651. this Empire is to last but fower yeers by this account. But one will say, these are but conjectures or curiosities rather, & fancies, yet we know that the Heavens are calld a *Book* in an uncontroulable text, and in a Book ther must be letters and writing, which may foretell the good or ill omen of a Countrey; the first by reading them from *West* to *East*, the second from *North* to *West*, because *ab Aquilone pandetur omne malum*, as poor *England* knowes too well: But as the Chymists hold that none can com to the *Magistry* unlesse he be a perfect good man, so he must be such a one that can attain the sense of this Celestiall writing.

I will enforce this cohortation or *Caveat* rather, with a saying which the Turks have, *That Italy is the Gate of Christendom, and Venice is the Key of Italy*; That *Candie* is a Bridg archd with *Zant*, *Cephalonia*, and *Corfu*, and *Corfu* is the chief Watergate of *Venice*. Therefore it is an easy thing to infer this consequence, or rather to be a *Prophet*, That the day when *Venice* is lost, will be the eve of the winning of *Italy*, and, a few daies after, of all CHRISTENDOM.

To put a conclusive period to all, ther is a saying that carries no less wisdom than witt with it, *when one's Neighbours house is afire, by the light shewof, he may discerne his own danger*; The *Venetian* Flames at this time are of such a vast extent, that they may enlighten, not only the *Italians* their next Neighbours, but all *Europe* besides, to foresee her future dangers, if the aforesaid *Islands*, which are as so many Limbs of *Christendom*, be cut off, and that the Mahumetan *Moon*, increasing by such additions, come to predominat o're those Seas.

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